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# USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

No 5, MARCH 1986

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7 AUGUST 1986

## USSR REPORT

## KOMMUNIST

No 5, March 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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## MEETING AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 3-4

[Text] A meeting with the heads of the mass information and propaganda media was held at the CPSU Central Committee. The primary tasks of the Soviet press, television and radio were discussed on the basis of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, addressed the participants. He emphasized that the congress answered questions raised by life itself and equipped the party and the people with programmatic documents and an acceleration strategy for the new crucial stage in the development of Soviet society. The line of the April Central Committee Plenum met with full approval at the congress. The main thing now is not only to preserve but comprehensively to develop, enrich and saturate with ideas and actions the atmosphere created by the congress and conduct in the press a frank and open discussion on means for the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Let there be more practical actions and initiatives and fewer meaningless statements and enthusiastic exclamations.

Organizational and political work must be concentrated on the implementation of the plans for 1986 and for the 12th 5-year period. The main trends in the economic area must be the systematic solution of problems related to perfecting the economic mechanism and management, accelerating scientific and technical progress, comprehensively applying cost accounting and waging a struggle for high production quality and work, for the full utilization of reserves and strengthening labor, production and contractual discipline.

In their letters to the CPSU Central Committee and the editorial boards, the working people supported steps aimed at bringing order, and the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism and various types of negative phenomena.

The scale and novelty of the forthcoming work are such as to require a radical restructuring in everyone's thinking, from the rank-and-file worker to the minister, and improving the work style as a whole. The main enemy here is bureaucratism, which the state must tirelessly scourge. The party, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, is confident that the press will work in this area energetically and thoroughly. All of its activities must be subordinated to the idea of accelerating matters. The pulse of life itself must beat from the

pages of newspapers and from television and radio broadcasts. The working people must describe in their own words the new features of our reality, their concerns and their thoughts. The press can do a great deal to bring up the people's talent and their creative potential and actively to support mass initiatives.

Our mass information media play an invaluable role in implementing the party's social program. This is no simple matter. It requires the attention of party and all state and public organizations. However, it is also an exceptionally important problem, for it directly affects the person, his life, work and social status. That is why the press must pay daily, I would say persistent, attention to the entire set of social problems. This topic must be present in the press every single day.

Another problem worth particular mention is the further development of the political system of our state and the all-round advancement and intensification of the democratic foundations of socialist life. Socialism is as impossible without democracy as true democracy without socialism. It is this inseparable link that we must display in its full scope. Let us say in this connection that our mass information media are one of the most outstanding manifestations of socialist democracy. It is hardly possible to find a country outside the socialist system in which the press, television and radio discuss the most crucial problems of life so sharply, frankly, sincerely and interestedly. This is what socialist democracy in action is. The atmosphere created by the congress must be developed further. The spirit of a constructive, critical and self-critical attitude toward the work must be strengthened and any complacency and satisfaction with successes, etc., must be eliminated as we progress, for this is not our way.

Today there is no more urgent and vitally important task than that of gathering bit by bit the experience created by life, experience aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. We have a strategic stipulation. We know well what to do and what our targets are. Today, however, we need the practical experience of each sector, production facility, administration, public organization, economic mechanism or party activity. There neither is nor could there be anything richer than the person's social experience. Our press, radio and television must become the real rostrum for this experience. The press must reflect accurately, persistently, stubbornly and comprehensively the creative initiative of the people aimed at resolving our strategic and daily problems.

The Soviet people fully approve of the party's efforts to improve the moral climate in the country and assert the standards of communist morality. A great deal here also depends on the attention paid to the family and to the upbringing of children. Our press, literature and art must contribute to strengthening the family.

As a whole, concern for the people, the social area, must be given priority at least equal to that given to production.

It is only the stressed and qualitative work of the entire people that can ensure the accelerated development of the economy and improvements in living

conditions. We are living in very interesting, difficult and demanding times. Action and more action is the demand of the day. We must fight, we must literally fight for the implementation of each line of the resolutions of the party congress. Rigid daily control over the implementation of plans and assignments is one of the press' most important tasks.

The class enemy is doing everything possible to promote mistrust in the reality of the implementation of our plans. We counter these intrigues with our toil, our powerful potential and the enthusiasm and patriotism of the Soviet people.

The country's foreign policy and the party's course in international affairs, formulated at the 27th Congress, are most closely related to domestic policy. Their single objective is to serve the interests of strengthening socialism, the interests of the working people and the interests of international peace. This truth must be brought to all people on earth.

The following participated in the exchange of views: V.G. Afanasyev, PRAVDA editor-in-chief; N.M. Gribachev, editor-in-chief of the journal SOVETSKIY SOYUZ; I.D. Laptev, editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA; A.N. Aksenov, chairman of the USSR Gosteleradio; V.M. Falin, Novosti New Agency board chairman; S.A. Losev, TASS general director; B.G. Vladimirov, editor-in-chief of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA; A.A. Baranov, editor-in-chief of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA; and V.I. Fedotova, editor-in-chief of the journal SOVETSKAYA ZHENSCHINA.

The meeting was also attended by Ye.K. Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee secretary.

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## EDITORIAL -- CONGRESS OF STRATEGIC DECISIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 5-21

[Text] "...Forward and upward! Ever forward and upward!" This call which A.M. Gorkiy addressed to man applies to the historical advance of the world of socialism as a whole. It is inordinately consistent with the present, with the intellectual and emotional incandescence which has been increasingly taking hold of the party and the people after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Such was also the atmosphere in which the 27th Congress took place. This was a historical congress, as it was described by F. Castro and other noted world political leaders. It was historical because it passed resolutions covering an important and significant period in human history in terms of its temporal scale--reaching to the start of the third millennium and beyond. It was also historical in terms of the fundamental, the essential significance of the decisions expressing the main, the basic aspects of our life, the new development within it after the April Plenum, a time of profound changes and active efforts. The hot wind of history itself is blowing in our life, said one of the congress delegates. This was said by D.K. Motornyy, not a poet but a person who grows our daily bread, a kolkhoz chairman.

The 27th Congress of the Leninist Party will play an exceptional role, something which has already become obvious. The special role which the congress will play in the party's political biography, in the establishment of the new social system and in the destinies of all mankind is determined, above all, by the strategic nature of its resolutions. The concept of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country and, on this basis, achieving a qualitatively new status of socialist society, formulated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, was further creatively developed at the congress. It was expanded in the political report of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, our party's Central Committee general secretary, in the new edition of the party program, in the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000, and in other congress documents. The strategy of acceleration is the pivot of these documents and the essence of the party's general line at the present stage.

In 1920, in his address to the RKP organizations, at a crucial time, V.I. Lenin wrote: "We must go forth, we must look ahead, we must take to the congress the reworked practical experience in economic construction, thought-

out and reworked attentively, through the general efforts and toil of all party members.... We must take into consideration practical experience in order to reject what is harmful and combine all that is valuable. We must accurately formulate a number of imminent practical measures and implement them at all costs, stopping at no sacrifices. That is the way we understand the tasks of the present and the tasks of the party congress" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, pp 142, 144). Today as well, at the point of a sharp turn in history, we can claim with full justification that it is precisely in the same Leninist way that the party and its Central Committee formulate the tasks. It was this precise approach that distinguished the unusually energetic, meaningful and fruitful pregress accountability and election party campaign. It was precisely this approach which was typical of the work of the party congress itself. "Comrades, let us mention Lenin more frequently." These words said at the 27th CPSU Congress, do not contain even a hint of scholasticism; they confirm the requirements of real practical accomplishments in the post-April development of our country. Loyalty to the Leninist ideals and to Leninism as the highest stage in the development of Marxist thinking has been a distinguishing feature in the history of the CPSU. This history, Ye.K. Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, pointed out at the congress, is not "a glorious past which has thundered away," but an "inseparable part of the live, present political activity and thinking of all party members."

As the 27th CPSU Congress proved with inordinate clarity, time has no power over Lenin's thoughts and over the Leninist concepts and conclusions, which have been repeatedly tested through practical experience. As it marches on, time is contributing to their ever deeper understanding, confirming the prophetic power and permanent political relevance of Lenin's lessons. With their thoughts turned to the concerns of the present, the speakers and the delegates who addressed the congress kept turning to these lessons with increased interest, relying on them in a realistic and Leninist-type daring, creatively interpreting accomplishments and formulating new tasks in a Leninist style. In the unanimous view of the congress' participants and guests, and of all those who followed its proceedings with interest and without prejudice, the political report of the CPSU Central Committee, presented by M.S. Gorbachev, the new edition of the party program and the other documents of the 27th Congress are an outstanding accomplishment of creative Marxism-Leninism. They provide answers to the most crucial problems of our time and formulated new tasks and problems of current and long-range significance. Filled with historical optimism and faith in the triumph of the communist ideals, theoretically daring, frank and constructive, they give the Soviet people and their numerous foreign friends new hope. At the same time they encourage profound thoughts, daring solutions and energetic actions.

One of the most important political demands of today is to act, to act energetically and responsibly, in accordance with changing circumstances, always relying on the initiative of the toiling masses, on local initiative, which Lenin valued so highly, always remembering that inaction means stagnation and the doom of any project. The concept of profound restructuring and decisive rejection of obsolete views and prejudices and of ways and means of work which have outlived their usefulness was the binding idea running through the congress documents and the addresses of its participants. The



implementation of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress will demand of us to stress our full efforts, theoretical as well as political. The congress has raised our thoughts to a high level which demands increasing efforts and persistent, daring and creative work.

## I

One of the greatest achievements of long-term contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking is the concept of accelerating our country's socioeconomic progress as we perfect socialism and gradually convert to communism, formulated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and creatively developed and substantiated at the 27th Party Congress, the political report of the party's Central Committee and the congresses' programmatic documents. Progress acceleration is an unusual, even daring combination of words, yet highly objective, realistic and relevant. For it was not created through abstract theorizing but by life itself, by the harsh need for decisive changes.

The acceleration concept, formulated by the party, was dictated by the objective domestic and foreign conditions which developed in the mid-1980s. However, it was not related exclusively to the specific nature of the present situation. It expresses on a broad scale the practical and theoretical foundations for the new party line aimed at the year 2000 and beyond it. That is why it is also a strategy of acceleration. An organic alloy of theory and practice, thought and action and ideas and politics has appeared. The social content of the concept and strategy of acceleration thus became broader, richer and more complex than the meaning we had invested in this concept so far. Stressed creative thinking has been manifested in new forms, consistent with the dialectics of life. That is precisely what Lenin, the greatest master of dialectics and the greatest expert in the life of the people, the wise and skillful politician who was able skillfully to lay new strategic routes leading to the future and to find specific and realistic ways for resolving topical problems, teaches us. Naturally, acceleration means, above all, upgrading the growth rates of the economy, the national economy as a whole, on the basis of scientific and technical progress. By the end of the century our society should double its production potential with a qualitative renovation and increase labor productivity by a factor of 2.3-2.5; this will bring about a nearly 100 percent increase in the national income. These figures are a clear embodiment of the scope of the party plans and daring economic thinking, which demand equally daring and broad actions.

The party conceives of the restructuring of the national economy as an integral system of large-scale economic new developments. This involves substantial changes in investment policy, in which the emphasis will now shift from new construction to reconstruction and technical updating; profound structural changes in the economy and a reorientation from quantitative to qualitative indicators, from intermediate to end results and from increasing resources to improving their utilization. All of this, along with the fast development of science-intensive sectors and the production and social infrastructure, will give a new face to our economy and develop what K. Marx described as the "productive power of labor." He wrote that this category "is determined by a variety of circumstances, which include the average worker's skill, level of development of science and the degree of its technological

application, the social combination of the production process with the scope and efficiency of means of production and natural conditions" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 48). It is the task of science and politics to take into consideration all of these factors in their systematic interaction. This task becomes exceptionally complex under present conditions, at the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution related to the development of vanguard "high-level" technologies (microelectronics, informatics, robotics, biotechnology) which require an equally "high-level" contact with social structures and man, with his professional training, education and general standards and, finally, nature, which demands new previously unknown ecological assessments and priorities in human activities.

Scientific and technical progress turns out to be the center of many-faceted interactions and the significance of its social determinant, the "human dimension," the ecological assessment, which is steadily increasing as science is becoming not only a direct production but a social force as well, is becoming increasingly apparent. The imperative demand of the day is to intensify the orientation of basic research to the solution of scientific and technical problems of major national economic significance, to obtain specific results by developing qualitatively new technologies which will ensure the all-round updating of associations and enterprises and to introduce revolutionary changes in the economy which must increasingly become "materialized science."

The 27th CPSU Congress emphasized that the new tasks of economic development cannot be resolved with the old economic mechanism. Radical reform is needed. Economic management methods must be restructured in such a way as to become fully consistent with intensification as a decisive prerequisite for acceleration. In accordance with the supreme objective of the socialist economy, the satisfaction of social requirements and the needs of the individual must become the cornerstone of these efforts. This can be achieved only by orienting the economic mechanism toward high efficiency and work quality, giving it antiwaste features, making it receptive to scientific and technical progress, developing the collectives' profound interest in the results of their labor and opening a wide road to initiative and socialist enterprise in social management. The contribution of the various forms of economic management to the socioeconomic acceleration of the country and to the actual strengthening of socialism must become the touchstone with which their efficiency can be tested.

The solution of this problem is closely related to energizing scientific developments in socialist political economy and asking economists to address themselves to the concept of accelerating socioeconomic development and its most important aspects. The principal among them are the dialectics of production forces and production relations at the present stage in the development of our society, the ways and means for resolving nonantagonistic contradictions among them, the problem of socialist ownership and the variety of means of its economic implementation, which includes the most important of the problems reformulated by the congress: the further intensification of socialist economic self-management; and comprehensive topic of the efficient utilization of cost accounting and commodity-monetary relations on a socialist



basis. The most important starting point in changes in the economic mechanism demanded by the 27th Party Congress, that of improving production relations in accordance with the new conditions of the present stage in socialist development, is adopting a scientific view of such problems, as close to the practice of economic management as possible, and aimed at its substantial reorganization, freed from the burden of old prejudices.

The tasks set by the congress in the economic area are difficult and broad. However, our possibilities and as yet unused reserves, found above all in the radical advantages of the socialist economic management system, are equally great. The use of such advantages and of the communist principles of our economy much more efficiently and completely than in the past, is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the programmatic task of raising socialist society to a qualitatively new level. Our main inexhaustible reserve is the social activeness of the masses, the tremendous creative potential of the socialist social system and way of life, socialist competition and, finally, the Soviet person himself, with his socialist self-awareness, reason, feelings and willpower.

## II

The concept and strategy of acceleration extend also to the social and spiritual areas in the life of socialist society which, based on economic prerequisites and factors, themselves have a growing impact on said concept and strategy and on society as a whole. The cultural and moral aspects of acceleration sometimes play a decisive role in the overall social development process in which each feature--material and spiritual--is dialectically interrelated and interacting with the others. Scientific outlook, political consciousness, moral self-awareness, understanding of patriotic duty, feeling of social justice, honor and conscience are, in the final account, features without which no acceleration would be possible even if we were to dedicate our entire strength to the development of the economic and scientific and technological spheres. This as well has its own dialectics, as was clearly shown at the 27th CPSU Congress. We can confidently say that the congress was a true triumph of real humanism, theoretically and practically asserted by Marxism-Leninism and socialism: a society which, as it grows into communism, makes the person's development increasingly self-seeking, as Marx predicted.

The social gains of the Soviet people are unquestionable and great. Nevertheless, life itself forces us to look at their further development in a new way. The residual principle of assigning resources for the development of the material base of the sociocultural area, which is politically and economically faulty, was sharply criticized at the congress. Economy in sociocultural affairs turns into huge losses. Dissatisfaction with working and living conditions lowers the interest of the people in labor results, weakens discipline and causes other negative manifestations. Concern for housing, schools, hospitals, better living conditions and improvements in services becomes the primary tasks of managers on all levels. The congress approached the assessment of such problems in a bolshevik and Leninist manner: in this area assignment failures must be interpreted as political failures. The entire technical restructuring of public production, the congress emphasized, must have a clear social direction. Priority is given to the

solution of social problems in the labor area, which is the main sphere of manifestation of the essential forces of man and his development as a worker and an individual. It is a question not simply of replacing live with materialized labor but of profound changes in its content and its significant intellectualization. The congress offered a broad overview of such changes. During the 12th 5-Year Plan and in the period until the year 2000 hard and monotonous work must be substantially reduced. The share of manual labor must be lowered by more than one-half and more than 20 million people must be freed from unskilled work. This will constitute a major step toward turning labor into a prime vital need.

The formulation of cultural problems at the 27th Party Congress was noted by its innovative approach. By the very logic of history, socialist literature and art become the spiritual bulwark in the struggle for the comprehensive development of the person. They inherit and develop on new socialist grounds the best humanistic traditions of world culture.

The main task of CPSU cultural policy is to provide the greatest possible opportunity for the people to manifest their capabilities and to enrich their spiritual life. Today's conditions raise stricter requirements concerning educational and professional training. Essentially it is a question of developing a unified continuing education system. This precisely is the direction in which the reform of general education and vocational schools is developing. One of its objectives is to ensure the more profound study of the scientific foundations of contemporary production and the mastery of computer knowledge by the students. The task of the reorganization of higher and secondary specialized training pursues the same objectives.

We must create the type of socioeconomic, moral and psychological conditions which would maximally contribute to the actualization of all human capabilities and talents. In the words of Marx and Engels, "anyone within whom there is a Raphael must have the opportunity to develop without hindrance." Culture in the broadest possible meaning of the term becomes the most necessary component in the process of the accelerated development of society, a type of catalyst for profound psychological restructuring. Its role increases in shaping and perfecting the main productive force in society--the working person. The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress emphasizes the following: "Upgrading the level of social maturity and building communism means steadily upgrading the maturity of the mind and enriching the spiritual world of man."

Development for the sake of man and with the help of man is precisely the way the question stands in the acceleration concept. The effective enactment of the human factor means, above all, to understand the person, to enter into the world of his interests, needs and expectations and to understand his motivations: in a word, to see his personality. In this area, however, a great deal remains unknown, for which reason we must more broadly develop the comprehensive scientific study of the person in the great variety of his social relations.

The significance of the person, of the human factor, in the system of social, economic, production, scientific and technical, organizational-managerial and

other relations and in the development of culture, moral relations among people, the family and the way of life will steadily increase with the advance of socialism. Our class enemies are doing everything possible to deny this, claiming that socialism is allegedly "indifferent" to the individual, pitting this against capitalism with..."a human face." Both are clear lies dressed in new clothes by the contemporary servants of imperialism, including some "scientists" who are distinguished, as Marx said in his time, by the "baseness of their thinking." In a socialist society the person is confident in the fact that society is profoundly interested in the development of his forces and capabilities. This was emphatically and strongly stated at the congress: "We must comprehensively encourage creative and independently acting people who have their own views and who daringly assume great responsibilities."

The idea clearly expressed in the reports submitted to the congress and the addresses of delegates--workers, kolkhoz members, engineers, party and economic managers, scientists and men of culture--was that we shall live according to what we accomplish. Personal well-being must be directly related to the condition of the social wealth and the labor contribution of the individual worker to multiplying the national well-being, for social consumption funds are not the result of philanthropy. To establish a truly unbreakable tie between what is "mine" and what is "ours" means to resolve most social problems. It would be naive to imagine, it was noted at the congress, that a proprietary feeling can be developed through speeches. A proprietary attitude is shaped above all by the actual circumstances in which man finds himself and his possibility of influencing production organization, distribution and utilization of labor results.

The country's accelerated socioeconomic development and the mobilization of the creative potential of the entire people are inconceivable without further improvements in the societal political system. "Democracy means the type of healthy and clear air which is the only one in which the socialist social body can live a rich life," the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress emphasized. "That is why when we say that the powerful potential of socialism is still not fully utilized in our country, we mean that the accelerated development of society is inconceivable and impossible without the further development of socialist democracy, in all its aspects and manifestations."

The socialist political system, which includes public organizations and state bodies, must be directed toward the development of self-management principles, for it is only on the basis of the active participation of the toiling masses that it can function efficiently. The Communist Party which, fulfilling a leading role in society, is also the highest form of sociopolitical self-managing organization, is the leading force and the principal guarantor in the development of socialist self-management. Having covered a distance unparalleled in terms of depth and power of influence on social development, the CPSU has become the party of the entire people while remaining, in terms of its class nature and ideology, the party of the working class.

In his article "Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?," which was written on the eve of the Great October Revolution, Lenin expressed the firm conviction that the 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party will successfully cope with

management tasks. Today the CPSU numbers more than 19 million members. Today as well, however, in managing all social affairs, it makes full use of this "wonderful means" which Lenin described slightly more than 70 years ago and which, in his words, can "immediately, in one fell swoop, increase our state apparatus tenfold." This applies to attracting the working people in the daily management of the state.

The logic of development of socialist democracy confirms the urgent need to utilize the richest possible opportunities of the governmental representative administrative bodies--the soviets of people's deputies. The party has firmly charted a course of increasing the autonomy and activeness of the local power bodies and upgrading the control exercised by the working people over the activities of state management bodies. "Self-management principles," the CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress noted, "are developed not from the outside but within our statehood, penetrating ever more deeply into all pores of state and social life, enriching the content of democratic centralism and strengthening its socialist nature."

The activities of the trade unions, the Komsomol and the various voluntary associations of the working people are an inseparable part of the people's self-management system. Their functions and rights will be expanded further substantially. In particular, the range of problems which can be resolved by the state bodies only with the participation or preliminary agreement of the respective trade union, Komsomol or women's organizations will be expanded; these organizations will be given the right to annul managerial decisions in a number of cases. However, in order for the social organizations to be able successfully to carry out their assignments, as was emphasized at the congress, we must immediately eliminate the noted tendency to act above all through the forces of the machinery, bureaucratically, without relying on the masses; fuller use must be made of the opportunities offered by direct democracy, such as elections, nationwide discussions, regular reports submitted by representative bodies and publicity.

The main cell in the socialist society, which must steadily enhance the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the masses, is the labor collective of the enterprise, establishment and organization. It has broad rights, codified and ratified by the USSR Law on Labor Collectives. This law must become the most important tool in the development of Soviet democracy and the socialist self-management by the people, and the party is contemplating a number of specific steps aimed at radically perfecting the mechanism of its implementation.

In speaking of the real, the practical participation of increasing masses of working people in the formulation, discussion, adoption and implementation of socially significant decisions, we must also bear in mind that ensuring the necessary prerequisites to this effect also means molding, developing the very aspiration for such participation, which cannot appear outside active social efforts. We must systematically develop conditions for shaping feelings of involvement on the part of everyone with mutual affairs and society as a whole, surmounting the social "sluggishness" of some individuals, and their inertia, indifference and even a certain alienation. The 27th CPSU Congress most emphatically emphasized the significance of these problems in the communist upbringing of the working people, in the acceleration of



socioeconomic and spiritual progress in our country and in social and individual development. The struggle against anything which hinders the manifestation of the social and labor activeness of one and all, which was developed in the post-April period, the development of creative initiative, and the ability to think and act in a new fashion, eliminating obsolete stereotypes and rejecting from our life bureaucratic respect for officialdom and servility, flattery and toadiness, promoting a true socialist "scale of values," and rating the individual according to his work and capabilities, skill, talent and individual contribution to national projects, are of major significance.

### III

The solution of strategic and basic tasks and the further progress of Soviet society on the path to perfecting socialism are organically related by the CPSU--the party of true internationalists--to strengthening peace and preventing thermonuclear catastrophe and to the successes achieved by the global revolutionary process. The new draft of the CPSU program describes world socialism as a young world aimed at the future. This definition encompasses the main trend of the contemporary world: today social progress is inseparable from socialism and its establishment, advancement and progress toward the communist future. The main task in the development of the new system, emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee political report, has been achieved: socialism has proved its possibility of resolving social problems on an essentially new basis--collectivism. It is demonstrating this real possibility, which is open to all mankind, through the building of a new, unparalleled type of international relations. Such relations are embodied most fully in the socialist community. The ruling communist and worker parties are the motive force of the comprehensive development of the members of the community. Their political cooperation is steadily growing and advancing, and its methods and forms are being updated.

The study of the basic trends and contradictions in the contemporary world, as provided in the Congress' documents, convincingly proves that the fate of the world and social progress today are linked more closely than ever before to the dynamism of the economic and political development of the world socialist system. The energizing of the interaction manifested not simply with the appearance but the multiplication of our potential and the effect of expanded reproduction, if one may use this term, of the foundations which are specific and inherent in the new social system, is vitally important in the acceleration of our progress. On the basis of such foundations, the development of global socialism on the eve of the 21st Century will increasingly reveal the wealth and variety of its advantages.

The 27th Congress noted many new features of economic cooperation among fraternal countries, mainly that in the past 25 years a transition, legitimately prepared by all preceeding developments, has taken place in the implementation of the historical trend of internationalization of economic life leading to its higher contemporary form--socialist economic integration. The adoption of the comprehensive CEMA program for scientific and technical progress until the year 2000 was a new major step in this direction. The congress' documents emphasize the need for the further intensification of

integration as the material base for the unification of socialist countries. The imperative of contemporary party policy--accelerating socioeconomic development and reaching a qualitatively new status by our society, in the economy above all--encourages us to study even more closely and profoundly the valuable features in the experience of the fraternal countries. In the course of building a new society they have acquired significant and extensive original experience in planning and management, cadre policy, perfecting democracy and establishing a socialist way of life as whole. Collective experience must be looked upon with open eyes, seeing its merits and shortcomings and making maximal use of one of the advantages of socialism--its ability to learn.

The CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress emphasizes, in particular, the need to learn how to prevent clashes among interests of different socialist states, harmonize them and find mutually acceptable solutions to even the most difficult problems. What unites the socialist countries is the main feature and is immeasurably greater than whatever could divide them. Therefore, the report states, we try to see above all that which unites the socialist world. From this viewpoint as well we must closely look at relations within the socialist world as a whole, without erecting any barriers separating our community from the other socialist countries.

The young socialist world is opposed by the still strong and dangerous exploiting capitalist world which, however, has already past the apogee of its development. This is related to a group of contradictions which are the most important from the viewpoint of the destinies of mankind: relations between governments in the two systems and contradictions which largely determine the dynamics of our time and social change in this and the next century.

The two socioeconomic systems in the contemporary world are substantially different from each other in terms of their readiness and ability to interpret arising problems, suggest means to resolve them and pursue a corresponding policy. Whatever crucial problem may affect mankind today, two approaches, two lines of political behavior may be noted.

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties see the nature of contemporary capitalism in its entire clarity, without any shade of illusion, the nature of a society with which we must coexist and seek ways of cooperation and reciprocal understanding. Today, in the age of electronics and informatics, computers and robots, the capitalist world is quite different from the capitalism of the turn and even the middle of the century. What remains unchanged, however, are its exploiting nature, the antagonistic nature of its internal contradictions. The conflict between gigantically increased production forces and capitalist production relations and between labor and capital is becoming increasingly sharper and deeper and its manifestations increasingly varied and broad.

The noticeable worsening of capitalist reproduction conditions, manifested in the growing variety of crises and leading to the aggravation of international rivalry, is giving new impetus to outbreaks of imperialist contradictions which spread in width and depth within the capitalist system. Their motive force is the intensively growing multinational monopoly capital. The newly

developing and the old external and internal imperialist contradictions determine the dynamics of reciprocal relations among its three main centers: the United States, Western Europe and Japan, creating new economic and political centers of rivalry. The communists do not exclude the possible growth of the capitalist economy and its mastery of new scientific and technical achievements. The intensifying general crisis does not mean the absolute stagnation of capitalism. Nevertheless, imperialism remains a parasitical, decaying and dying capitalism.

As noted in the congress' documents, a new, complex and flexible set of contradictions has developed between imperialism, on the one hand, and the developing countries and peoples, on the other. On the one hand, a slow and difficult yet irreversible process of essential socioeconomic changes is taking place in the life of the peoples accounting for the majority of mankind, a process of steady increase in the role and authority of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in world politics. On the other, the merciless exploitation and plunder of the developing countries remain to a considerable degree the prerequisite for the existence of the imperialist system, an important source of financing its militaristic preparations and a factor in social maneuvering and the bribing some toiling strata.

The last decades of the 20th Century will be recorded in history as a period of growing aggravation of universal and global problems, based on an entire group of contradictions within the contemporary world and influencing the existence of civilization itself. The profound deeply innovative study of their reasons--the increased scale of human activities, excessive overburdening of natural systems as a result of "polluting" traditional production technologies and subordinating the use of nature to the blind play of market forces--is found in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress and other congress documents.

The study of the complex and contradictory world which has developed in recent decades called for a new system of coordinates. It was found in the innovative concept of an interdependent world, formulated by the congress fully in accordance with the Leninist methodology of the study of the contemporary epoch. Today, when imperialism has led mankind to the very threshold of self-destruction as a result of accelerated race of annihilating armaments, and when a mortally dangerous gap has developed between the realities of the nuclear age and the understanding of the urgent problems which face the world, an efficient approach to the solution of the basic problems of the existence and development of civilization is possible only from this viewpoint. In our time the power of interdependence and degree of interweaving of the tasks of social progress and defense of peace has increased even further; the dialectics of class and human interests and objectives has become more complex. "The real dialectics of contemporary global developments is found in combining competition and historical confrontation between the two systems with the growing trend of interdependence among countries in the global community," the resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress on the CPSU Committee political report reads. "A contradictory yet interdependent and largely integral world is developing through the struggle of opposites." That is precisely why the communists, who have always been the most consistent fighters against social and national

oppression, are today in the front ranks of the struggle for safeguarding peace and saving billions of people on earth from destruction.

"The peoples on earth cannot and will not accept 'no' as an answer to the question of will mankind survive? The congress of Soviet communists emphasized decisively and firmly that social progress, the processes of social and national liberation of the peoples and the existence of human civilization will continue. This CPSU conclusion is based not only on the feeling of historical optimism and faith in the intelligence and common sense of the people alone. It is based on the scientifically tested knowledge of the realities of our age with its contradictions, trends, laws and dialectics."

"Class antagonisms and the intensification of social and national oppression in the monopoly stage of capitalist development have brought to life powerful forces opposing imperialism, such as world socialism, the international worker and communist movements and the forces of national liberation. The increased antagonism between the monopolies and the overwhelming majority of the population in the capitalist countries and the increased danger of a global thermonuclear war have led in recent decades and years to the appearance of yet another powerful force of social development which can efficiently participate in countering the threat of mankind's self-destruction: the new mass democratic movements. The millions of people rallied within them, people of most different political persuasions, formulate in the nonsocialist world the demand of putting an end to the militarization of social life, the imperialist policy of aggression and war, the arms race and the predatory attitude of monopoly capital toward the environment and natural resources. The strengthening of the anti-imperialist potential enabled the congress confidently to conclude that "the forces of peace and progress throughout the world will be able to neutralize the threat coming from imperialism and to stop the world's drift toward the brink of the nuclear precipice...."

The very presence of 154 delegations of communists, worker and revolutionary-democratic socialist, social democratic, labor and other parties and representatives of mass international democratic organizations from 113 countries from all over the world and the intensive exchange of views, assessments and ideas contained in the speeches of the guests of the congress and their meetings with the Soviet public convincingly proved the existence of a reliable platform for joint actions by all revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces of our time for the sake of preventing war and creating conditions for a peaceful life for all peoples on earth and for their legitimate advance toward the heights of social progress.

The historical merit of the 27th Congress is that it gave a powerful impetus to strengthening a new political thinking in the world, combining the philosophy of survival with decisive and constructive actions. The realities of the nuclear age force us to revise the very concept of international policy. In the nuclear age to think in terms of categories of military power means to lead mankind to suicide. In our time security can not be merely national but mandatorily global, universal. In this connection, the conclusion drawn at the 27th CPSU Congress to the effect that objective conditions have appeared in the world in which the confrontation between



capitalism and socialism can proceed exclusively as peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry, assumes utmost significance.

The strategic resolutions of the 27th Leninist Party Congress triggered a broad international response and had a tremendous impact on global public opinion. In itself, this became a beneficial psychological factor in international life. The mass information media in the fraternal socialist countries reflect the high assessment of the aspiration for renewal and a powerful influx of optimism and enthusiasm which marked the work of this lofty Soviet communist forum. Our friends particularly note the atmosphere of daring, realism, openness and principle-minded criticism characterizing CPSU life today. The more mature and strong socialism becomes, they say, the more sharply it approaches shortcomings and decisively rejects anything obsolete, anything which will stand in our way in the 21th Century.

The bourgeois press did everything possible to draw the attention of the world public away from the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress, to weaken its impact on the minds of millions of people on earth and to belittle the significance of its resolutions. However, it too was forced to acknowledge their epochal nature. We have frequently seen that the truth about our country can always make its way through all obstructions of bourgeois disinformation. However, we must know how to defend this truth. We must most energetically act so that, with the help of the mass information media, we may bring to the people in the West, poisoned by the toxin of bourgeois lies about socialism, socialism's domestic and foreign policy.

#### IV

The scale and novelty of forthcoming projects, the CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress noted, formulate exceptionally strict requirements concerning the nature of the political, ideological and organizational activities of the Communist Party. Heading and guiding the comprehensive, exceptionally varied and extremely complex and exceptionally important work, in terms of significance and consequences, work related to the reorganization, the qualitative renovation of all aspects of our life, as a living and steadily developing political organism, the party is radically restructuring and systematically perfecting today the forms and methods of its theoretical and practical activities. The meaning of this reorganization is that each party organization, from republic to primary, must actively struggle for the implementation of the line adopted at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the line of the historical 27th Party Congress, and live in an atmosphere of search and renovation of work forms and methods. In the final account, it is a question of having the party, all organizations, committees and party members without exception, master during the new historical stage the great traditions of bolshevism and the work style which will most consistently meet the demands of the time and which could be described as Leninist with total justification.

Loyalty to Lenin's cause, as was emphasized at the congress, means for our party to live with the interests of the people, to consult with the people steadily and always to act in the midst of the masses. Only thus will it be able sensitively to sense the dynamics of the time, clearly to hear the pulse

beat of life and fulfill its vanguard leading role in society. Loyalty to Lenin's cause means that the party must be absolutely truthful, free from the complex of "infallibility," be able critically to assess accomplishments, draw uncompromising lessons from its blunders and errors to the fullest extent, have a clear vision of immediate and more distant prospects, comprehensively to support the spirit of innovation within its ranks and tirelessly to fight against sluggishness, routine and stagnation.

To follow creatively the bolshevik traditions and to be guided by the Leninist work style under contemporary conditions means to promote on all levels and in all party organization units, more systematically than in the past, the principle of collectivity, to upgrade the role of plenary meetings and bureaus as collective party management bodies, and firmly to struggle against efforts to replace the joint formulation of decisions with personal orders. "Command syndrome," bureaucratic management, arbitrariness, scorning other opinions, lack of principles, hypocrisy and all manifestations of bureaucratism and communist boastfulness are irreconcilably alien to the Leninist style. This was loudly, clearly and unequivocally proclaimed at the congress.

Today mastering the Leninist work style raises more sharply than in the past for all party members and party organizations and committees the question of the comprehensive development of criticism and self-criticism. "We know from the recent past," M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress, "that wherever criticism and self-criticism are suppressed, and wherever the party analysis of the actual circumstances is replaced by discussion about successes, all party activities become deformed. An atmosphere of tolerance, permissiveness and impunity is created, leading to most serious consequences." The standard of criticism must be developed. One of the most efficient instruments for such development is the consistent and principle-minded support of critical remarks and the strict and unconditional penalizing of anyone guilty of suppressing criticism or persecuting for its use. The level of its development and attitude toward it must become one of the most important indicators of the political standards and maturity of the party organization, its leaders and its ordinary members.

Under contemporary conditions the Leninist work style and the growth of the party's creative potential are related to upgrading the initiative and responsibility of cadres and waging a tireless struggle for maintaining the pure and honest image of the party member. It is of essential importance for discussions on the responsibility and moral aspect of the party members not to remain a mere phrase with the help of which one could quite easily develop an impression of sharpness and practicality, but to be energetically shifted to the level of practical accomplishments.

The level of the ethical and moral demands made on the communists and the party organizations and managers of party committees on all levels was the distinguishing feature of the 27th CPSU Congress and its reports and addresses. The beneficial importance of this circumstance cannot be overestimated. The increased political, practical and moral reputation of its party organization and party committee will tremendously contribute to upgrading the prestige of the party in society and to strengthening in fact the vanguard role of individual communists and the party as a whole.

The real and tangible increase of this role largely depends on the further improvement of the admittance of new members into the party. The congress condemned the unsuitable practice of some organizations of accelerating the numerical growth of party ranks to the detriment of their quality and lowered exigency toward new members. The CPSU is a ruling party. That is why it must be tirelessly concerned with maintaining the purity of its ranks and be reliably protected from unsuitable people, from those who join the party motivated by careerist or other selfish considerations. It must decisively get rid of elements alien to it, of people who are dishonest and unworthy of the high title of communist.

Where does the party find the lever which will enable it to sharply turn the minds and feelings of the people to the topical assignments of today? This fulcrum is found in the primary organizations, which are its main potential the political nuclei of the labor collectives. Granted extensive rights, including the right to control administrative activities, and having at their disposal a vast choice of means of ideological-political and organizational influence on labor and production activities of collectives and their social life, the primary party organizations must assume full responsibility for the systematic implementation of the decisions passed at the congress and for improving all aspects of Soviet social life. It is precisely they who must pioneer the struggle for the structural reorganization of the national economy, the new technical reconstruction of the production process, the radical modernization of the economic mechanism, the comprehensive strengthening of the alliance between science and labor and the acceleration and intensification of economic, social and spiritual life.

It is important to strengthen the party's influence on the entire course of scientific and technical progress, and the party stratum in its decisive sectors and pay greater attention to work in collectives of scientific research and design organizations, technical services and scientific and technical societies. Delegates to the congress spoke of the major role of the party committees in ministries, which must act as representatives of the party at the headquarters of the various economic sectors. The congress' resolutions make it incumbent upon ministry party committees drastically to upgrade their activeness and enhance responsibility and order in their collectives and undertake specifically, on the basis of party and national positions, to resolve the major problems which determine the accelerated socioeconomic development of our country.

Unfortunately, as was noted at the congress, mastering the Leninist work style is not proceeding as rapidly and successfully as one would wish, as is demanded by the CPSU Central Committee. Not by everyone and everywhere has the need for reorganization been realized. Many organizations are slow in surmounting inertia, formalism and routine in their work. The congress made it incumbent on the central committees of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms and raykoms to eliminate more decisively sluggishness, conservatism in any of their manifestations, and the urge toward embellishing the true state of affairs; and to persistently overcome the obsolete inclination toward overorganization, bureaucratic fussing and paper shuffling.

"The party," the CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress emphasized, "must declare a decisive and merciless war on bureaucratism. Vladimir Ilich Lenin deemed particularly important the struggle against it at crucial moments, during times of transition from one to another management system, when maximal efficiency, speed and energy are needed. Bureaucratism today is a major obstacle on the path to solving our main problem: accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the related radical reorganization of the economic management mechanism." Bureaucratic distortions, as practical experience indicates, are the strongest wherever practicality, publicity and control from below are absent and where exigency for assignments has been lowered.

We know that Lenin considered "the crux of all work" to reside in "the selection of people and verification of execution," rather than "in resolutions, in establishments and in reorganizations." "Since such things are necessary, we shall do them," Vladimir Ilich explained, in presenting in March 1922 the political report of the RKP(b) Central Committee to the 11th Congress. "However, do not turn with this to the people, but select the necessary people you need and verify practical execution. This the people will appreciate" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, pp 16, 112-113). The people and the party properly assessed the steps taken by the Central Committee after the April 1985 Plenum on promoting to responsible party and state positions fresh forces and rejuvenating tried party cadres with people who understand what must be done and how to do it under present conditions. Major improvements in parti aktiv quality were made during the pregress accountability and election party campaign.

From the viewpoint of political realism one cannot fail to see, as was most clearly and convincingly stated at the congress, that the strategy of acceleration urgently requires the further advancement of cadre policy and the reinterpretation of some of its aspects, bearing in mind the lessons of the past. These lessons, which were bitter and costly to the party and the entire society, are that the necessary trust in cadres has nothing in common with indiscriminate trust which essentially means lack of control, and that the right words about a careful attitude toward cadres must not be used to conceal, as was recently the case, tolerance and blank forgiveness. Cadre stability must not turn into cadre stagnation.

Under the conditions of our multinational country, to be loyal to the Leninist behests and bolshevik traditions in cadre policy means to be tirelessly concerned with the growth of local cadres and their upbringing in a spirit of internationalism, firmly opposing parochial and native-son feelings and all manifestations of nepotism and string-pulling.

For any party member to be a communist not in words but in deeds means to be always ready to go wherever the party sends him, to work where matters are most difficult and where the interests of the present demand it. Such has been the case throughout our party's history. The faster socioeconomic development of our society naturally presumes high cadre mobility at all levels. As was emphasized at the 27th Congress, the party will continue to combine experienced with young workers in management, promote women to leading



positions more energetically and tolerate no violations of the Leninist principles of cadre selection, placement and upbringing.

The party's current political course offers exceptionally favorable opportunities for significantly upgrading the efficiency of ideological work. As was pointed out at the congress, major shortcomings exist in ideology: there is a certain alienation between propaganda and life and elements of scholasticism and contemplativeness are present. Education through words is by no means always related to education through action and to the sociopolitical experience of the masses. The congress' decisions call for surmounting meaningless verbosity, formalism, admonitions and carelessness toward manifestations of hostile ideology and for the prompt and comprehensive assertion of a broad view on ideological activities as the most important means of shaping the new person and an efficient tool in energizing the human factor in all sectors of ideological education and propaganda.

The congress emphasized the growing role of mass information and propaganda media in the implementation of party economic strategy and social policy and in molding a socialist consciousness. Under contemporary conditions television, radio and the press are a powerful instrument for publicity, public control, dissemination of progressive experience and involving the working people in social affairs. They must become a rostrum for creative Marxist-Leninist thinking, and practice more extensively the exchange of views on topical problems of the theory and practice of building communism. The requirements of efficiency, combativeness, honesty and moral purity apply to the mass propaganda and information media to the same extent that the congress applied them to the other party units and our entire society.

The pace of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic progress will be the higher and success in perfecting our socialist society the greater the more accurately the party is able to take into consideration in its policy the objective laws of social development and the more energetically and profoundly can Marxist-Leninist science interpret the live practices of millions of people. The congress called for persistently surmounting manifestations of stagnation and dogmatism, narrow-mindedness in ideological and theoretical work and energizing the party's collective thinking and developing in cadres a taste for theory and the ability to master Leninist methodology in the analysis of social processes.

The mastery of the Leninist style of scientific work presumes theoretical daring, deep analysis, absolute honesty concerning the facts discovered in the course of the study and extensive publicity and democratic discussion of real processes on the basis of which policy is formulated. In the social sciences as well, creative competition, daring search for the truth in the processes of life themselves rather than through scholastic theorizing as, unfortunately, is frequently the case, are needed. Our social sciences have achieved certain results in a number of areas in recent years. Social science became particularly energized after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. As a whole, however, for the time being social science, the science of economics in particular, is behind the practical requirements and tasks formulated by the party. That is why a major leap forward is necessary. We must totally reject the rehashing of universally known and long mastered truths and

superficial comments on already passed resolutions, petty topics and alienation from life. A doctrinary arrogant attitude toward the facts of reality and practical experience are fatal in any social science sector. In scientific work we must not forget Lenin's cautioning that "prejudice is farther from the truth than ignorance." An orientation toward quality and the practical efficiency of recommendations and the cultural and humanistic value of results are tasks directly stemming from everything related to problems of social theory and practice and the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The strategic resolutions of the 27th Party Congress irrefutably prove the unfading power, vitality and efficiency of creative Marxism-Leninism. Revolutionary dialectics is the source of this strength. It is the living soul of the concept of acceleration and of new and important scientific summations and political conclusions which have enriched the party's theoretical arsenal. With the materials of the April Central Committee Plenum, the CPSU Central Committee conferences on accelerating scientific and technical progress and the all-union practical science conference on problems of ideological work, the congress' documents are a model for using and increasing the transforming power of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The tremendous ideological and theoretical potential of the congress' materials must and unquestionably will become an effective factor in accelerating the development of our society. It is exceptionally important for the congress' new theoretical concepts and political conclusions not only to be profoundly studied by all party members but also actively applied and made a base for daring and innovative and responsible actions in specific situations.

The congress has equipped the party and the people with a scientifically tested strategy and a clear program for practical action. Party and society as a whole can no longer think and work as before. The main task today is to preserve and continue through our actions the creative mood set by the 27th CPSU Congress. The theoretical and political stipulations of the congress are aimed precisely at their creative acceptance and application. It is precisely this that distinguishes true reorganization from adaptation to it.

The power of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and Communist Party policy lies in the combination of "total scientific sobriety in the study of the objective state of affairs, course of development and most decisive acknowledgment of the importance of revolutionary energy, creativity and initiative of the masses..." (V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 16, p 23). The 27th Leninist Party Congress inspires and directs today this energy, creativity and initiative of the masses to resolving problems of exceptional novelty and truly historical scope. The congress remains our highest academy of theoretical and political work. We shall turn to its strategic resolutions again and again in order to go "forward and upward, ever forward and ever upward!"

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### THE MAIN DIRECTION OF CPSU ECONOMIC POLICY

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[Article by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member L. Abalkin]

[Text] The strategy of acceleration formulated by the party provides clear and convincing answers to questions raised by life and defines the nature and pace of our progress. It is only on the basis of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country, as the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, that a qualitatively new condition in Soviet society can be achieved, which will identify in full the tremendous advantages of socialism in all realms of life and strengthen its international prestige and influence.

The solution of the formulated problems requires, above all, profound revolutionary changes in the development of production forces and putting at the service of society the inexhaustible possibilities of contemporary science and technology. The administrative system and economic management methods must be seriously reorganized and socialist production relations must be perfected further. All of this together is the content of today's party economic policy with its inherent profound scientific substantiation, comprehensive consideration and realism and organic combination of continuity with a truly innovative approach to the solution of crucial problems. It is a manifestation of the basic interests of the Soviet people and all social strata and groups and the hopes and expectations of every individual.

The formulation of a strategic course for economic policy and its main trend--acceleration--are inconceivable without basic theoretical summations, a thorough consideration of objective laws and interpretation of the qualitative features of the historical situation. Extreme clarity in theory is a prerequisite for success in politics.

However, such clarity should not be confused with repeating already memorized formulas and phrases. Marxism is not a dogma but a manual for action. "This classical concept," V.I. Lenin wrote, "emphasizes with envious power and expressiveness an aspect of Marxism which is frequently ignored. By ignoring it, however, we make Marxism one-sided, distorted and dead. We remove its living soul and we undermine its basic theoretical foundation--dialectics--the theory of the all-round historical development full of contradictions; we undermine its tie with the specific practical assignments of the age, which

could change at each new turn in history" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20. p 84). The 27th CPSU Congress set examples of creative enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory and the party's ability specifically to evaluate new conditions and needs in the development of socialism and go beyond the confines of ordinary but already obsolete concepts.

## I

Contemporary economic policy is the nucleus of the acceleration strategy aimed at resolving essential large-scale problems. As the new draft of the CPSU program indicates, it calls for a conversion to an economy based on high level organization and efficiency with the all-round development of production forces and production relations and a well organized economic mechanism. A new technical reconstruction of the national economy is necessary and it must switch to the track of intensive development. We must achieve the highest world level of public labor productivity, production quality and efficiency. An increase in labor productivity by a factor of 2.3-2.5. planned for the forthcoming years, is a major landmark on the way to high labor productivity.

Profound changes in the economy--the decisive realm of human activities--enable us to enhance the level of well-being of the people to a qualitatively new stage and to carry out extensive measures aimed at improving the working and living conditions of Soviet people.

The formulation of these truly historical tasks is not the result of speculative ivory-tower thoughts. It is dictated by the objective logic of social progress. The true art of politics is theoretically to interpret real changes and, on this basis, formulate a specific program for action.

According to Marxism, society "sets itself only problems which it can solve, for a close analysis always proves that the problem itself appears only when material conditions for its solution are already extant or at least in the way of establishment" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 13, p 7). What are the "material conditions" which determine the characteristics and nature of the objectives of the party's economic policy at this stage?

First among them is the huge production and scientific and technical potential created through the dedicated work of several generations of builders of socialism.

Compared with the prewar period, the fixed capital, which is the most important unit in this potential, has increased by a factor of more than 20; it is higher by a factor of 6.9 compared with 1960. In the past 25 years the national income has nearly quadrupled; industrial output quintupled and agricultural production increased by a factor of 1.7. It is precisely within that time segment that our country outstripped the United States in the production of a number of key types of industrial commodities. Whereas in 1960 petroleum extraction (including gas condensate) was 42 percent and natural gas 12 percent of the level of extraction in the United States, by 1985 they accounted, respectively, for 136 and 116 percent. Within the same period the correlation of indicators increased from 71 to 191 percent for



steel smelting, from 43 to 158 percent for the production of chemical fertilizers and from 81 to 170 percent for cement production.

The successes achieved by the Soviet Union in developing knowledge and technical progress are universally acknowledged. This applies, in particular, to achievements in the study of space, thermonuclear synthesis and quantum electronics, the development of a nuclear power industry and the creation of progressive materials and technological processes.

It is important to emphasize that the problem is not simply one of the gigantic multiplication of production and scientific and technical potential. At a given stage its quantitative growth develops into a new quality and demands the formulation of new guidelines for further development. They include shifting the center of gravity from the expansion of productive capital to its renovation, from the growth of fuel and energy resources to improving their utilization, and from intermediary to end results and to the accelerated development of science-intensive sectors.

Along with the creation of a powerful economic potential, major changes have taken place in the entire structure of expanded reproduction and the conditions of economic growth themselves. A number of traditional primarily extensive factors have now become exhausted. Naturally, the question of the exhaustion any growth factor should by no means always be understood in the direct, the purely physical sense, so to say. It is a question above all of the economic and social limits of using additional resources.

Such limits appear when additional increases in raw material extraction require outlays which substantially exceed the potential effect of their utilization. The situation with labor resources is different. By virtue of known demographic reasons, their inflow is reduced without, however, drying out. During the 12th 5-Year Plan labor resources will increase by 3.2 million people. However, changes in the structure of social needs will make it necessary to channel almost all of this increase into education, health care and other sociocultural sectors. This means that in terms of material output, the factor of increased labor resources turns out to be factually exhausted.

Trends and priorities in party economic policy are determined in accordance with the new expanded reproduction conditions and economic and social expediency. They are based on the creative formulation of the theory of intensive type of expanded socialist reproduction. In this case particular attention is paid to changes which the developing scientific and technical revolution brings into the structure of the reproduction process.

Profound qualitative transformations have taken place in the social area. In the past quarter of a century alone real per capita income increased by a factor of 2.6 and the population's consumption structure has changed essentially. Whereas in 1960 there were 8 television sets and 4 refrigerators per 100 families, there were respectively, 97 and 91 in 1985. The implementation of a broad housing construction program has made it possible to improve the housing conditions of most Soviet people. The conversion to universal secondary education of youth has been completed.

Even a short study of the new economic conditions answers the question of why despite a substantial increase in the scale of output its growth rates substantially slowed down, disproportions worsened and other major negative phenomena appeared at the end of the 1970s and beginning of 1980s. The main reason, the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress stresses, is that we failed to provide a timely political assessment of the changes in the economic situation. We failed to realize the entire gravity and urgency of converting the economy to intensive development methods and actively use the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the national economy. A great deal of appeals were made and discussions were held on this subject while everything remained virtually unchanged.

By inertia, the economy continued to develop on a primarily extensive basis, directed toward involving additional manpower and material resources in the production process. Consequently, the growth rates of labor productivity and some other efficiency indicators dropped substantially. Efforts to correct the situation through new construction aggravated the balancing problem. A shortage of resources developed in the national economy despite a tremendous volume. A gap appeared between social needs and the production levels which had been reached and between solvent demand and material availability.

The primary task formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress was to put an end to the adverse trends and to accelerate growth rates. Compared with the 11th 5-Year Plan, during which social labor productivity increased 16.5 percent, during the 12th 5-Year Plan it will increase by 20-23 percent. The national income used for consumption and accumulation purposes will increase by 19-22 percent, compared to 17 percent in the previous 5-year period. Despite a relative increase in the accumulation fund, this will enable us to ensure the faster growth of real per capita income (13-15 percent versus 11). Economic growth will be accelerated further during the 13th and 14th 5-Year Periods.

The essential feature of contemporary economic policy is that it is oriented toward achieving high end results through the utilization of intensive quality growth factors. For the first time in our country's history, during the 12th 5-Year Plan--a 5 year period which will take the country to the acceleration trajectory--the entire increase in the national income and output in industry and the other production sectors will take place without increasing the number of working people. The main source of satisfaction of the additional needs of the national economy for raw materials and fuel and energy resources will be their conservation rather than increased extraction and production.

Obviously, such radical changes cannot be accomplished with the available material and technical facilities. That is why the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the new technical reconstruction of the national economy, the drastic updating of the country's production apparatus and the truly revolutionary changes to be made in all the elements of production forces are becoming basic problems of party economic policy and have assumed a special position in the resolutions and documents of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The party's current economic policy organically combines long-term with current and strategic with tactical tasks. Here it is important to have a clear view of the future and the levels which must be reached by the national

economy without, however, ignoring the immediate tasks and the need to harness first-line reserves. The efficient coordination of long-, medium- and short-term objectives, and the skillful assignment of priorities demand a weighed and scientifically thought-out policy and great political skill. However, it is precisely such a coordination that is one of the most important prerequisites for the successful implementation of the course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

## II

The party's contemporary economic policy is a unified, thoroughly thought-out and coordinated system of steps. All of its trends are combined within its supreme objective, which was and remains the steady upsurge in the material and cultural standards of the people. This target is the concentrated expression of the basic features, historical advantages and humanistic nature of the socialist system. That is why, compared with the supreme objective all other tasks of economic policy, however important and significant they may be, are means to that end. They are means the purpose of which is to ensure the successful implementation of the programmatic stipulation of raising the well-being of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level and achieving the type of standard and structure in the consumption of material, social and cultural goods which will be maximally consistent with the objectives of shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual and creating the necessary conditions for the total identification of the capabilities and talents of the working people in the interest of society.

The unified scientific and technical policy, extensively described in the documents of the 27th Party Congress, plays a decisive role in the qualitative reorganization of production forces and in achieving high level economic efficiency and people's well-being.

The Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 called for achieving during the 12th 5-Year Plan no less than two-thirds of the increased public labor productivity through the utilization of the achievements of science and technology and expanding the use of progressive basic technologies by no less than 50 to 100 percent. The extensive application of essentially new technologies in the national economy will enable us comprehensively to upgrade labor productivity, enhance the efficient utilization of resources and lower energy- and material intensiveness of output.

Radical improvements in the technical condition of output require the reorganization of investment and structural policy. The new aspect of this policy in the 12th 5-Year Plan is that it is targeted on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the qualitative updating of the material base and structure of output.

Priority will be given to the development of machine building--an area in which the latest achievements of science and technology are materialized and popularized. In the next 5 years, capital investments channeled into the development of the machine-building complex will exceed investments during the preceding 5-year period by a factor of 1.8.

The overall structure of capital investments will show substantial changes as well. Their share channeled into technical retooling and reconstruction of existing facilities will increase from 37 percent in 1985 to 50 percent in 1990. This will enable us to update the production apparatus and to eliminate the trend of its physical and moral obsolescence which developed in recent years.

A successful investment policy is impossible without radical improvements in capital construction, a topic which was thoroughly and exigently discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress. In particular, the need to raise to a new industrial and organizational level of the entire construction complex, to reduce the investment cycle in enterprise reconstruction and building of new projects by a minimum of one-half was emphasized. We can no longer tolerate a low construction pace with the dispersal of capital investments, which blocks huge funds and hinders scientific and technical progress in the national economy.

Today the development of sectors which determine the pace of scientific and technical progress and the solution of social problems is of prime significance. Thus, during the 12th 5-Year Plan, with an overall growth of industrial output of 21-24 percent, machine building and metal processing output will be increased by 40-45 percent. The growth rates of machine-tool building and the production of computers, instruments and electrical engineering and electronic industry items should outstrip the output of machine building as a whole by 30 to 60 percent. At the same time, we must ensure the faster increase in consumer goods production: during the 12th 5-Year Plan group "B" output will increase 22-25 percent, compared with a 20-23 percent increase in group "A." The most important task in this connection is, while increasing the efficiency of the industrial structure, to combine the faster growth of machine building with high rates of output of consumer goods.

In turn, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and of investment and structural reorganization require significant energizing of financial policy. The party is guided by Lenin's instruction to the effect that "all of our radical reforms will be doomed to failure unless we are successful in our financial policy" (op. cit., vol 36, p 351). Here, as the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress noted, a number of unresolved problems have accumulated. In particular, the practice of income redistribution, according to which the losses of lagging enterprises, ministries and areas are compensated by profitably working units has become widespread. Credit has lost its real purpose.

In order substantially to improve the flexibility and efficiency of financial policy, all of its levers and units (relations between enterprises and the budget, resource payments, interest rates and amortization withholdings) must be channeled into the technical retooling of the production process, its increased efficiency and quality improvements. The financial and credit mechanism must maximally contribute to converting enterprises and associations to total cost accounting and to strengthening the material incentive and responsibility of labor collectives.

Success in this undertaking will help to surmount negativism in the approach to commodity-monetary relations and related economic levers and incentives.

Responsibility for their underestimating is assumed above all by the science of economics which, in the course of scholastic disputes, has ignored its main task: the formulation of reliable recommendations on how, based on the new meaning of commodity and monetary relations under socialism, to put their tools in the service of increasing efficiency and quality.

The party's position on this matter is extremely clear. It believes that the healthy functioning of commodity and monetary relations on a socialist basis can provide the type of economic management conditions under which its results will totally depend on the collective's work quality and managerial skill and initiative. Conversely, rejecting the importance of their active influence on upgrading the incentive of the people and production efficiency weakens cost accounting and leads to other undesirable consequences.

Contemporary agrarian policy, the fundamentals of which were formulated in the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the USSR Food Program, plays an important role in the party's acceleration strategy. We must complete the conversion of agriculture to an industrial base, comprehensively apply scientific crop growing and animal husbandry systems and intensive technologies, substantially upgrade the efficiency of the agroindustrial complex and ensure the full satisfaction of the country's needs through its output. During the 12th 5-Year Plan a decisive upturn must take place in the agrarian sector and food supplies must be improved noticeably. The average annual volume of gross agricultural output will be increased by 14-16 percent compared with 6 percent during the 11th 5-Year Plan; per capita consumption of milk, meat, fruits and vegetables will increase significantly.

Can we achieve this? "We can and must," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress. "To this effect the party has formulated additional steps to upgrade the efficiency of all sectors within the agroindustrial complex. Essentially they consist of changing the socioeconomic situation in the countryside and creating conditions for more extensive intensification and guaranteed output. The emphasis will be on economic management methods, broadening autonomy and upgrading the responsibility of kolkhozes and sovkhoses for the results of their work."

In formulating the objectives and tasks of its economic policy, the party considers them organically blended with the social development of Soviet society. This unity is clearly reflected in the integral concept of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development as expanded in the CPSU political report to the 27th Party Congress and the new draft of the CPSU program and the basic directions in the economic and social development of the country during the 12th 5-Year Plan and through the end of this century.

The stipulation that increased material output and efficiency eventually determine the entire social and spiritual progress of society does not exhaust in the least the entire variety of social interrelationships. We must not simplistically assume that we shall increase output and upgrade labor productivity and only then solve social problems. Actually, no qualitative change in economic development or a radical change in labor efficiency is possible without solving social problems.



Naturally, the particular attention paid to the social area is determined not merely by basic theoretical considerations. It is demanded above all by the lessons of the past. The party's Central Committee, delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress stated, believes that both central and local bodies underestimated the crucial problems of the material base of the country's sociocultural area. As a result, this led essentially to the development of the concept of the residual principle in allocating resources for its development. A certain turn to technocratic approaches weakened the attention to the social aspect of production, daily life and recreation. This could only lower the interest of the working people in the results of their labor, weaken discipline and lead to other adverse phenomena.

The funds invested in the development of education, health care, trade, consumer services and the construction of housing and cultural and sports centers are not aimed exclusively at resolving immediate problems but also at the future. They are investments in the most valuable or, to put it better, the priceless human factor. From the viewpoint of strategy and long-term prospects they are the most productive and effective.

No matter is too petty in the set of measures aimed at further enhancing the well-being of the people. Everything here is important: the substantiated growth of population monetary income, the reliable satisfaction of solvent demand, improvements in the educational system, tireless concern for preserving and strengthening human health, and solving the housing problem. Particular attention must be paid to problems related to major reorganizations in the conditions, nature and content of labor.

Abundant proof is available that at the present stage in social development the need for meaningful and creative work holds a leading position in the system of the individual's value orientation. This raises stricter requirements concerning the social parameters of designed and applied equipment and the organization of the production process and labor. The purpose of the new equipment is not only to enhance labor productivity but also to intensify its intellectual saturation and attractiveness. The first step in this direction calls for drastically curtailing the share of manual and unskilled labor. In the 12th 5-Year Plan the scale and pace of such reduction will be doubled or tripled as a minimum.

The qualitative reorganization of the labor sphere and the intensification of its creative nature are necessary prerequisites for the development of the social activeness of the masses and a most important factor in the acceleration of social progress.

### III

Economic policy becomes reality and gains vital strength as it becomes embodied in the practical activities of the masses. "...Politics," Lenin taught, "begins where the millions of people are; serious policy can begin only where there are not thousands but millions of people..." (op. cit., vol 36, pp 16-17).

The universal approval of the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the broad wave of enthusiasm and hopes it raised, created a favorable sociopolitical climate in the country. In itself, however, this does not guarantee success. We must not believe that now everything will become easy and simple and develop by itself. Work lies ahead, demanding tremendous efforts. We must eliminate established stereotypes, reorganize structures and economic management methods and radically improve matters in all sectors.

Many good decisions have been made in the past as well and each new party word has been welcomed enthusiastically. The fact that subsequently the words were not supported by actions must be blamed on the low level of organization, slowness and indecision and the inability and, sometimes, even the unwillingness to complete projects. No less fatal was replacing live action with noisy campaigns, the tendency to embellish reality and the existence of phenomena such as showiness and report-mongering. Although intended by their initiators to whip up mass activities, in fact they triggered mistrust in words and social passiveness.

The party exposed these phenomena boldly and honestly, drawing from them proper lessons. Now, it is important to develop painstaking work for the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress in the center, the local areas and in each labor collective and party organization, which may seem ordinary on the surface but is inspired by a most profound inner meaning. The main thing is to involve in such work one and all, to blend together millions of individual wills, to awaken the social activeness of the masses and to direct it toward the implementation of the targets.

This cannot be achieved merely with the help of slogans and appeals. A great deal must be changed and reorganized within social relations themselves, within the management system, in order to develop social activeness. This is the purpose of the steps taken by the party to develop self-management, increase publicity and apply flexible and efficient economic management methods. The close combination of the interests of society, the labor collective and the individual worker is an exceptionally important and, in a certain sense, a key link in economic policy.

The purpose of the planned reorganization of forms and methods of management in the primary economic unit is to develop in every worker and collective a proprietary feeling. Naturally, it is important to call upon the people to think like statesmen and to explain the need for concern for the multiplication of the social wealth. However, the working people cannot be masters of the country without being the true masters of their plant, kolkhoz, shop or livestock farm.

In this context the study of the forms of economic implementation of the concept of socialist ownership, developed in the CPSU Central Committee political report, is of essential significance. The analysis was combined with a consideration of problems of the dialectical interaction between production forces and production relations, which substantially enriches our theoretical concepts on the laws and socioeconomic mechanisms of the

functioning of socialist society and enables us to interpret more profoundly the current situation and the program for future activities.

What stems above all from the theoretical summations and conclusions formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress is the need steadily to perfect production relations, to preserve their stable consistency with dynamically developing production forces and promptly to identify and solve the nonantagonistic contradictions which appear between them.

Such consistency cannot be achieved with a single act, once and for all. Socialist production relations indeed offer scope for the development of production forces and for the steady growth of production and scientific and technical progress. However, their steady progress is a mandatory condition in this case. Unless this occurs, at a certain stage one link in production relations or another turns from a form of development to a hindrance in the progress of production forces.

The appearance and, subsequently, the growth of disparities between substantially increased and qualitatively changed production forces, on the one hand, and production relations, and economic management means and methods which develop under the conditions of a primarily extensive economic development, on the other, were the most profound reason for the negative phenomena which became clearly apparent by the turn of the 1980s. Today, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, we are trying to change the direction of the economic mechanism, to eliminate its wasteful nature, to direct it toward upgrading the quality and efficiency and accelerating scientific and technical progress and to intensify the role of the human factor. This is the main feature which will mark the further advancement of socialist production relations and provide new scope for the development of production forces.

Perfecting production relations is not a separate, an isolated process. It is a link in the single system of steps aimed at the planned and comprehensive advancement of socialism as a whole. At the same time, the particular significance of work in this area quite clearly proceeds from the basic nature of production relations. It is precisely through them that perfecting economic policy exerts its main influence on the development of public production, its enhanced efficiency and the pace of scientific and technical progress.

The purpose of improving production relations is by no means aimed exclusively at reorganizing the material elements of production forces. It also is a decisive factor in the development of the working person himself--the main productive force in society. This is hardly limited to upgrading the standard of his professional training, although this too is very important under contemporary conditions.

Developing specifically socialist features in the worker--a proprietary attitude toward the work, conscientiousness, thrift and high responsibility for result of economic activities and related concern for the multiplication of social wealth--decisively depends on the development of production relations and the consistency between their forms and the nature of the public ownership of means of production. In this case perfecting distribution



relations (above all establishing a direct link between the measure of labor and the measure of wages), increased cost accounting, and a reliable consistency between supply and demand of consumer goods and services, etc., play an essential role.

Perfecting production relations is the high road to the development and strengthening of a proprietary attitude toward labor and its results and upgrading the social activeness of the toiling masses. The lack of organization of individual units and specific mechanisms governing the functioning of such relations cannot be compensated by any kind of legislative act or amount of educational work. Both are absolutely necessary and can yield results but only if combined with flexible and efficient forms of production relations.

We are familiar with a number of cases in which the Law on Labor Collectives, which was passed relatively recently, is used pro forma and does not yield the desired results. Naturally, this is due to a number of reasons, the main among which, however, is the imperfect form of economic relations and the absence of an effective cost accounting mechanism. It is precisely this that triggers the passive attitude of the workers toward the results of collective labor, their lack of interest in improving the work of the enterprise or association and, respectively, their indifference toward participating in management. Conversely, the experience of many cost accounting brigades and enterprises proves that the efficient "coupling" of economic interests not only yields high production results but contributes to the development of the social activeness of the workers and their real involvement in management.

Strengthening cost accounting, the progressive development of distribution and trade relations, and ensuring the application of the principles of material incentive and responsibility for results of economic activities are the main ways leading to improving the specific forms and mechanisms of the economic application of the principle of public ownership of the means of production. The more efficient these forms are the more the richest possible opportunities and historical advantages of socialist ownership are manifested and, correspondingly, the more the workers in socialist production exercise their status of true proprietors of the public production process. The mass and active participation of the working people in management is one of the most important indicators of the maturity of ownership by the whole people and an actual measure of the economic implementation of such ownership. That is why the 27th CPSU Congress considered the further intensification of self-management in the economic area one of the most urgent and prime tasks.

The basic stipulations and conclusions formulated by the congress provide a powerful impetus for the development of the science of economics, demanding of it the thorough and comprehensive study of acquired experience in socialist economic management and the formulation of reliable recommendations on improving production relations and the mechanism of planned economic management.

In no case should reliance on perfecting production relations as the decisive prerequisite for radical changes in production forces and the development of social activeness of the masses be interpreted as underestimating, not to

mention belittling, the role of spiritual and ideological factors. It is common knowledge that success in politics depends on energizing the entire system of social relations and institutions.

In social life cause and consequence and premise and result are in a state of complex dialectical interaction and frequently change roles. Today, for example, the psychological reorganization of cadres and the formulation of a truly modern economic way of thinking are the starting point and mandatory prerequisite for a substantial renovation of production forces and forms of production relations. Any reorganization of the economic mechanism, as was particularly emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, begins with the reconstruction of the mind, the rejection of existing mental and practical stereotypes and a clear understanding of the new tasks. In this case social science, the propaganda system and mass information media and all establishments in the spiritual and ideological sphere assume a major and responsible role.

It is exceptionally important to make every member of society conscious of the imperative need for profound changes and to help him understand that the future of our great country is shaped by today's actions. The development of the social activeness of the masses and of a statesmanlike approach to the work and a feeling proprietorship, backed by persistent and dedicated work, can greatly accelerate economic and social development and take Soviet society to the qualitatively new levels of historical advancement toward communism, as defined by the party.

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## SCIENCE AT THE STAGE OF ACCELERATION

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[Article by Academician P. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president]

[Text] The Soviet scientists followed the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress with tireless attention and profound interest. They accepted the ideas and suggestion formulated at the congress as a realistic and authoritative answer to the problems of life and a challenge to our complex age.

The Leninist Party Congress made a major contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism, the scientific interpretation of the processes of global development and the tasks of perfecting socialist society on the basis of the acceleration of socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress.

Based on the materialistic understanding of history, economic growth, taking into consideration the intensification of the scientific and technical revolution, is ascribed decisive significance in the development of socialist society. In this connection, the increased role of science in the development of production forces, the perfecting of social relations and the creation of essentially new types of equipment and technology and in enhancing labor productivity is emphasized. Characteristically, during the current 5-year plan no less than two-thirds of the growth in public labor productivity will come from the utilization of the achievements of science and technology.

This sets great requirements to the Soviet scientists. The great historical experience of science in socialist society indicates its tremendous possibilities in solving even the biggest scientific and technical problems. This involves the mastery and extensive utilization of nuclear power for peaceful purposes and Soviet achievements in the conquest of space and in many other scientific and technical areas.

Nevertheless, the influence of scientific and technical progress on the national economy as a whole and on its intensification remains insufficient. The 12th 5-Year Plan will be a turning point in all areas of the country's economic and social development; it must become a turning point in scientific and technical development as well.

Naturally, it would be impossible here to discuss all the problems of science as formulated in the CPSU Central Committee political report, the party program and the basic directions in economic and social development. We can say that no single scientific area was ignored or left without critical consideration.

Priority is ascribed to the development of basic science, which predetermines raising public production to a qualitatively higher level.

Particular attention is focused on the development of electronics, nuclear power, comprehensive automation, production technology and material processing. Biotechnological methods and gene engineering will be applied extensively. Computer production will be increased by a factor of 2-2.3. Machine building is assigned a leading role in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Output in machine building and progressive type of metal processing will be increased drastically.

The basic task is to strengthen links between science and production and to find the type of organizational forms of integration among science, technology and production which will enable us to ensure the efficient and fast development of scientific ideas from concept to extensive practical utilization. The network of scientific production associations will be expanded; essentially new types of equipment and technologies will be developed for extensive application in intersectorial scientific and technical complexes and centers. It is important for such complexes, which will include scientific research institutions, design and technological organizations and experimental enterprises, to complete their organizational period as soon as possible and get to work without delay.

It would be expedient to set up engineering centers, based on the experience of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, to assist in the broad-scale application of highly efficient types of equipment, technology and materials. Equally justified is the practice of organizing temporary scientific and technical laboratories, as a new form of unification and concentration of the efforts of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the industrial sectors.

Delegates to the congress emphasized that we must rely on our own scientific and technical potential and that chasing after imported equipment to replace our own work is inadmissible. This has been repeatedly stated in the past as well and was reasserted at the congress in the speech of A.P. Aleksandrov, USSR Academy of Sciences president.

It is important to intensify the technical trend of work in academic institutes. During the discussions of precongress documents fear was occasionally expressed that the technical trend may reduce the significance of basic scientific research by the Academy of Sciences. Practical experience indicates that such fears are groundless. We must not ignore the fact that today the very concept of basic science is broadening. The technical sciences, recent ones in particular, based on electronics and computers, while retaining their engineering trend, also become theoretical, basic disciplines. Furthermore, they stimulate the development of traditional basic sciences and

act as promoters and intermediaries in the practical application of theoretical ideas.

Today the main thing is to energize the factors of intensification of scientific activities themselves, to achieve the fastest possible technological utilization of new knowledge and to accelerate progress along the chain leading from basic to applied research and thence to experimental-design developments and practical utilization of new equipment.

Taking this into consideration, the USSR Academy of Sciences is expanding the network of its scientific institutions in the technical area. It recently set up a department of informatics, computer equipment and automation. An entire series of new scientific institutes and branches is being created. Great attention is being paid to the theoretical foundations of machine building and a special department on such problems is being set up on the basis of existing and newly created scientific institutions. A decision has already been approved to organize branches of the Institute of Machine Studies in Gorkiy, Sverdlovsk, Leningrad and Saratov. The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium will assume greater responsibility in guiding basic research in machine building and in the main areas of the technical sciences. Naturally, this should not restrict existing basic research areas. We need a sensible combination and interaction among the various areas of knowledge in resolving topical scientific and practical problems.

The documents of the congress earmark the basic tasks of the natural and technical sciences, the solution of which will determine the profound qualitative changes in production forces and the appearance of essentially new types of products, equipment and technologies.

Theoretical and applied mathematics, informatics and cybernetics, astronomy and astrophysics, physics of elementary particles, the atomic nucleus and solid state, micro- and quantum electronics, optics and radiophysics will be developed; studies will be conducted in the areas of nuclear and thermonuclear power, transformation and transmission of electric power, and mastery of nontraditional energy sources.

Theoretical problems of catalysis, chemical technology and biotechnology will be developed; new structural materials will be created. Physical-chemical biology and the scientific base for obtaining physiologically active agents for medicine and agriculture will be promoted. Work will be done on problems of immunology, virusology, genetics, selection, prevention means and methods and diagnostical methods for the treatment of the most common diseases.

Great importance is ascribed to the comprehensive study of the structure and development of the earth's crust and the biosphere, the world's oceans, the atmosphere and outer space.

Essentially, the scientific and technical revolution presumes an innovative approach to scientific research, particularly in the area of basic problems. In disclosing the infinite possibilities of knowledge, V.I. Lenin said that the electron is as inexhaustible as the atom. This prediction was brilliantly confirmed soon afterwards and knowledge moved substantially farther in the



study of so-called elementary particles. Nature is infinite, V.I. Lenin emphasized, and the human mind has discovered within it a number of marvels and will discover more of the same. Contemporary scientific knowledge proves the depth and accuracy of these words. Science is continuing to discover ever new properties, possibilities and forces in nature, confirming the inexhaustibility of matter.

The CPSU Central Committee political report and the new edition of the party program, all congress documents and a number of speeches made at the congress contained an urgent address to the scientists, one could say an instruction issued by the party and the people, to multiply their successes on the scientific front, to reach the most advanced levels of scientific and technical progress and to enrich the scientific and technical arsenal with new ideas, discoveries and developments. We know that the application of scientific achievements greatly depends on ministries, departments and economic organizations. However, scientific discoveries and developments are the work of the scientists themselves and depend on their creative aspirations and efforts and on the organization of science.

Today, as the CPSU Central Committee political report emphasized, the party's theoretical thinking is focused on the difficult set of problems caused by the contemporary crucial nature of the development of our society and the rest of the world. The comprehensive task of accelerating our progress and its interrelated aspects--political, economic, scientific and technical, social, cultural-spiritual and psychological--needs further profound and comprehensive study. The party expects of the scientists major philosophical summations, substantiated economic and social forecasts and extensive research in CPSU, domestic and world history.

Naturally, in last 5-year period as well a great deal of valuable books and scientific reports came out. In general, however, here as well the extensive approach dominated. There was more quantity than quality, and the link between the social scientists and life was quite weak. Small groups of scientists actively dealt with basic topical problems while a number of subdivisions dealt with rather abstract problems or limited themselves to general and superficial considerations.

Sharp critical remarks were addressed to the social scientists at the congress. It was pointed out that the philosophical-economic front and social science as a whole are somewhat removed from the problems of life. Furthermore, the planning and economic bodies and other departments are not displaying suitable interest in the implementation of efficient suggestions formulated by social scientists.

The party has formulated on a principle-minded basis the question of the substantial involvement of the social sciences in specific practical needs; it requires of the social scientists a sensitive reaction to changes in life, to keep track of new phenomena and to draw conclusions which can accurately guide practical work.

A firm end must be put to scholasticism and dogmatism, which have become quite firmly rooted in a number of social science units and which always lead to

mental stagnation and idle talk. The party reminds us that truth is born not as a result of scholastic debates but in the course of creative discussions and is tested through action, through practical experience.

As everywhere else, the Academy of Sciences must develop more extensively criticism and self-criticism. It must adopt a stricter and most exigent approach to evaluating the way all scientific subunits and workers fulfill their obligations. Criticism, the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, is an important means of surmounting shortcomings and negative phenomena and ensuring progress. Naturally, it must be principle-minded and based on objective assessment and knowledge.

We must admit that on social science fronts there have frequently been calm periods and debates which have broken out occasionally have frequently turned out to be sterile, running on neutral gear, trampling on one and the same spot. Such was the case with debates on contradictions under socialism, economic law, the nature of commodity-monetary relations in the socialist economy, price setting principles, methods for determining the economic efficiency of new equipment, etc.

The congress drew attention to the fact that the atmosphere of creativity which is being asserted by the party in all areas of life is particularly fruitful in the case of the social sciences. Hope was expressed that thanks to this atmosphere economists, philosophers, jurists, sociologists, historians, and literary workers will energize their scientific activities, daringly pose new problems and develop them creatively.

The scientists realize that in addition to basic theoretical postulates, which have withstood the test of time, a number of books and articles on the various areas of the social sciences have duplicated and disseminated formulations which subsequently had to be revised in the course of the work on the new draft of the CPSU program and the other documents of the 27th Congress. The works currently in writing and the theoretical journals must provide comprehensive interpretations of the new basic stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress and the new edition of the party program. They must take into consideration all refinements of old concepts and intensify their study of real life processes.

Priority in the social sciences is given to the further development of basic research. A more profound study will be made of problems of dialectical and historical materialism, scientific communism, political economy, the increased leading role of the CPSU, and the experience of the international communist, worker and national liberation movements.

The congress' documents make it incumbent upon social scientists to focus their efforts on the comprehensive study of global developments, the history of the new society in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the dialectics of production forces and production relations, the material and spiritual spheres in socialist conditions, the laws governing the formation of the communist system and the course of its progress toward its higher phase.

The study of the objective contradictions in socialist society and the formulation of substantiated recommendations for their solution become an urgent task of the social sciences at the present stage.

We have firmly mastered the view that contradictions are a source of development. However, such development takes place in a manner such as to provide scope for the progressive principle and to surmount obsolete and hindering aspects or forms of this process. This equally applies to the main source of social development, the dialectics of production forces and production relations which, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolutions, have become much more complex. Production forces have always been the most active and leading factor in production development. Today the dynamism of this factor increases greatly. This calls for the steady advancement of production relations and the prompt elimination of any possible lagging on their part behind the growth of production forces. Furthermore, the uneven development of production forces themselves intensifies. Under our very eyes profound revolutionary changes are taking place in science and technology with the development of electronics, computers, automation and biotechnology, requiring the reorganization of the huge production apparatus, entire economic sectors and the entire national economy. Delays in the application of the latest scientific and technical achievements can only hinder scientific and technical progress.

Interaction among natural, technical and social sciences is of exceptional importance in the acceleration of socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress. Such interaction becomes a vital necessity, a prerequisite for the fruitful development of these sciences.

This interaction takes place mainly on the methodological, the conceptual level. The new edition of the CPSU program draws attention to the fact that the basic, the tried foundation for natural scientific and social knowledge was and remains the methodology of dialectical materialism, which must be creatively developed and skillfully applied in research and social practice.

We must energize the activities of methodological and philosophical seminars organized in virtually all scientific institutions. This is a tried form of methodological work on general scientific problems and all necessary steps must be taken to improve the leadership of most of these seminars. This task has been assigned to the Central Council of Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars. Here the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Scientific Council on Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology must play an important role.

Today scientific interaction is very important in three areas: technical-economic and social problems of scientific and technical progress; comprehensive study of the problems of man and the energizing of the human factor; and safeguarding peace and developing international cooperation.

Forms of scientific organization which ensure interdisciplinary research on topical problems and the necessary flexibility of cadres, structures of scientific institutions and research and development must be developed more

extensively with a view to achieving the integration of all areas of scientific knowledge in order to accelerate scientific and technical progress.

Substantial experience has been acquired in such integration, particularly in the formulation of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and its socioeconomic aspects. By decision of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, its initial variant was drafted in 1972, for the 1976-1990 period. The second variant for 1981-2000 was drafted in 1976-1978. A third variant was drafted 2 years ago. Some 3,000 people from more than 700 scientific organizations participated in formulating the final drafts alone.

Unquestionably, this work played a positive role. The program substantiated the need and efficiency of a number of major scientific and technical measures in ferrous metallurgy, machine building, energy, agriculture, etc. The economic aspect dealt with problems of production intensification, structural changes in the development of the national economy and perfecting the economic mechanism. The suggestions formulated by the Academy of Sciences on accelerating the development of machine building and increasing the share of capital investments in the sector and reorganizing the structure of the agroindustrial complex, formulated 10 years ago, were particularly important. Some of the materials of this program were incorporated in the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR.

Naturally, the indicators of the comprehensive program could not entirely coincide with planned indicators; the program considers only the potential possibilities of scientific and technical progress. Nevertheless, the formulation of this program and the adopted plans and, particularly, the results of their implementation, indicate that the results of scientific developments were not suitably taken into consideration.

Frequently plans for economic and social development were formulated regardless of existing possibilities and most vital needs, but as a result of hard and long "haggling" between the USSR Gosplan and ministries and various republic organs fighting for their departmental benefits. They reflected the aspiration of a number of ministries to obtain greater resources while maintaining a low or even zero production growth.

The slowdown in the pace of economic growth and scientific and technical progress was caused, above all, by the fact that by inertia the economy largely continued to develop on an extensive basis, oriented toward involving additional manpower and material resources in the production process. The active utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology in the national economy was not secured. Here as well scientists and scientific institutions must shoulder a substantial share of the blame. Some results were achieved following sharp statements by scientists in the press or at meetings on the foundering of the plan for the utilization of some scientific and technical measures. As a whole, however, we must frankly say that no active struggle was waged by scientific institutions for the implementation of the plans and assignments included in the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress. We repeatedly discussed the course of preparing and drafting the program at the various conferences and by the USSR Academy of

Sciences Presidium. However, we did not consider even once the way the program was being included in the 5-year plans and in the basic directions of economic and social development and the way it was being implemented. We did not determine what parts of the comprehensive program were unsubstantiated and unacceptable and what share was the result of the inertia of economic bodies.

The 27th CPSU Congress emphasized the need to take more fully into consideration in formulating state plans the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress in the USSR. The increasing significance of this program is largely determined by the fact that it is scheduled to play a coordinating role in terms of other national economic programs. It must be the base for the unified state plan. The organic interconnection between socioeconomic and scientific and technical progress must be manifested precisely in the unified state plan.

In order to upgrade the effectiveness of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress we must intensify the specific recommendations contained in our developments and become more insistent in submitting our suggestions.

Naturally, in the economic area the power and influence of the Gosplan and the departments, on the one hand, and those of the scientific institutions, on the other, are not comparable. Perhaps the leading bodies should have called for the scientific expert evaluation of the most important scientific and technical and socioeconomic measures.

The lack of interaction between scientific institutions and economic bodies in matters such as the economic assessment of the efficiency of new equipment and technology, price-setting principles and methods, etc., creates a great deal of difficulties in socioeconomic development and scientific and technical progress. Usually, the project suffers while each side blames the other.

The evaluation of new equipment and technology must be based above all on quality indicators ensuring the conservation of resources and labor in scientific and technical progress. Priority should be given to improving production quality. Naturally, philosophically as well as economically some contradictions exist between quantity and quality. Pursuit of quantity inevitably leads to loss of quality whereas quality improvements delay, at least for a while, the quantitative growth of output.

The problem of production quality has assumed major social and political significance. It is clear from the economic viewpoint as well that the need for volume diminishes if quality is high. There also exist some contradictions between the growth of needs and the possibility of their satisfaction. Balancing production with consumption is the most important problem of social policy and, perhaps, of science as well.

The time has come substantially to broaden and radically improve studies of the socioeconomic and legal problems of scientific and technical progress. Interacting with all the scientific institutions within the academy, the recently created Institute of Economics and Forecasting of Scientific and



Technical Progress should most energetically organize such studies and formulate accurate technical and economic forecasts.

Science must do a great deal for agriculture, which is a vital economic sector. In connection with the implementation of the Food Program, we must hasten the solution of scientific and technical as well as chemical-biological problems and continue our efforts to perfect the economic mechanism and intersectorial relations within the agroindustrial complex.

Studies of the problems of man and the energizing of the human factor are exceptionally important today for all scientific institutions engaged in general studies. Faster socioeconomic development is inconceivable without the comprehensive development and sensible application of the creative forces of man and without upgrading skills, consciousness and labor and social activeness. The party believes that the human factor can be energized only as a result of closely linked and well planned economic strategy, strong social policy and purposeful ideological and educational work.

Repeated suggestions have been made at academy meetings to set up a scientific council on the comprehensive study of the problems of man. The Academy of Sciences Presidium passed a resolution on establishing a coordination council which would rally workers in different fields of knowledge and different scientific institutions to work on the entire set of problems related to the science of man. The problem of man is one of the comprehensive development of the individual, general and specialized training and education, organization of labor and leisure time and upgrading material well-being, culture and labor and social activeness. Ensuring unity among physical, intellectual and aesthetic development and between socialist consciousness and behavior, perfecting the socialist system of needs, interests and motivations and developing the all-round wealth of the spiritual world of the individual are among the most important and difficult theoretical and practical problems in studying the conditions and possibilities of the optimal realization of the creative forces of man. It is a question of developing a collectivistic awareness in the citizens of Soviet society as active builders of communism, patriots and internationalists.

The full blossoming and efficient utilization of the creative capabilities of every person is the objective and major prerequisite of historical progress of the entire communist social system. According to the theory of Marx and Lenin, man is the main productive force of society. The CPSU program cites Marx's words to the effect that with the comprehensive development of the people, productive forces, based on scientific and technical progress, will increase as well.

The study of the development of human capabilities involves social as well as natural scientific aspects. In particular, here we pose the question of the correlation between the social and the biological aspects in human life and behavior. Of late, unfortunately, extremes and one-sided approaches have appeared in the interpretation of this quite important and difficult problem. Strictly biological approaches to the study of human consciousness and behavior, according to which moral motivations and inclinations are explained in terms of natural factors, were justifiably criticized. However, the other

extreme was noted as well: simplistic sociologizing, in which all physiological and mental functions of man are interpreted in terms of social factors.

We believe that here as well we must be guided by dialectics and see the interaction and unity of social and biological factors, proceeding from the determining role of social conditions in the molding and development of man, his consciousness and behavior. Whether physically or intellectually, people are bound to be different from each-other. However, the development of human capabilities is not genetically predetermined. According to the materialistic understanding of history, man's creative capabilities are not a natural gift but the result of history and mankind's historical development.

Socialist society can and does provide the most favorable conditions for the development and manifestation of man's creative talents and physical and mental capabilities. No person is without abilities and inclinations for one type of activity or another, unless there is a pathological development of the body. The different and varied capabilities of men are the intellectual wealth and creative potential of labor collectives and the entire society. The people, V.I. Lenin said, have infinite talents. One must only be able to find and awaken them and make their development and application possible. The objective of socialism is not equality and uniformity of capabilities but the development of all talents and possibilities. The concept "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work" has become an elementary truth. However, the basic nature of this truth should not be considered one-sidedly, exclusively in terms of wages. Everyone must work to the fullest extent of his capabilities, with an awareness of his specific obligations to society and an understanding of the need to dedicate to it his full creative efforts.

The full implementation of the socialist principle "From Each According to His Capabilities and to Each According to His Work" is the foundation of social justice in the first phase of the communist society. It is also a powerful source of energizing of the human factor and stimulating man's labor and social activeness. In this respect the labor collectives are assigned an exceptionally important role, for they are the closest to the implementation of the basic principle of socialism and the prime cell of people's socialist self-management and a major area of the social activeness of the individual.

In molding the new person, the party ascribes great importance to problems of the development of culture and to education and upbringing in the spirit of the humanities. Nothing develops and ennobles the feelings of the person more than exposure to the best works of literature and the arts, perception of artistic creativity and the outstanding characters of the heroes of our time. Nothing shapes awareness of civic duty, lofty ideological and moral qualities and patriotic and international traditions more than the history of our homeland and the lessons of world history.

We oppose the idealizing of the past and pitting one nation against another. The study of historical events and traditions on the basis of class positions, the summation of age-old experience in the struggle waged by the people's masses against exploiters and foreign aggressors and interpreting the heroic

history of the Leninist party are primary tasks in the development of the individual's social self-awareness.

The variety of modern information media notwithstanding, language remains the main means of human communication. Mastery of the entire wealth of the native language and the language of international communications which, by virtue of objective circumstances in our country, is Russian, is a mandatory prerequisite for the all-round development of the individual.

The recognition, development and utilization of the abilities of all people is a social problem. It is particularly important in educating and preparing the young generation for labor activities in various areas of social life, such as material production, management, science, technology and culture. The scientific institutions must actively participate in developing methods and techniques for vocational orientation, curriculums and training aids and in upgrading the scientific standards of education and vocational training.

The question of the correlation between social and biological factors is relevant to medicine as well. This problem has been discussed quite thoroughly in connection with the struggle against alcoholism. It is common knowledge that its main aspects are prevention, education and the active influence of society. However, many scientists are convinced of the need for a serious study of the biological mechanisms for the appearance and intensification of this disease and the possibility of using physical therapy and chemical and biological means of treatment.

The health of the individual, of the people, is the greatest wealth of socialist society. In this area the interaction among sciences is of vital importance, for both social and natural factors must be taken into consideration in improving working and living conditions, developing physical culture and sports, organizing the sensible use of leisure time, disease prevention and treatment. Human health is inseparably related to healthy nature and a clean environment which cannot be ensured without the joint efforts of scientists in different fields.

Our discussions concerning environmental protection are heated and passionate. Many natural values have been rescued thanks to the energetic activities of scientists, other men of culture and all working people. Nevertheless, so far proper coordination among various scientific data and the interaction of all interested specialists have still not been achieved in resolving a number of major problems. Our planet is the only one we know in which conditions originated for the appearance and development of life and intelligence. The preservation of such conditions for life and ensuring the efficient utilization of natural resources demand the joint efforts of scientists and all Soviet people.

Peace among nations and the greatest and basic civil right--the right to life--is the most important concern today of the individual and all mankind. "Mankind can and must live in harmony with nature. To achieve this, however, it must live in harmony with itself," M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said in his answer to the letter of M. Maroua, head of the International Life Institute. That is why the general and most important

trend in the activities of the scientists is the defense of peace and strengthening international cooperation in the interest of rescuing life and preserving and developing civilization.

In recent years the Soviet scientists have carried out comprehensive and active scientific and social work, both in our country and throughout the world. Currently such efforts can and must become much more initiative-minded and active.

The peaceful suggestions of the Soviet Union, formulated in the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and the documents of the 27th Party Congress, had a tremendous reverberation throughout the world. The forces of peace and progress were given a new powerful impetus and a scientific perspective.

The most difficult problem in international relations, a problem which was extensively discussed at the congress, is that of combining peaceful coexistence among countries with the historical competition between the two different social systems, the problem of safeguarding peace under the conditions of the aggravated struggle between socialism and imperialism and between the forces of progress and reaction. The communists believe that the historical competition between the two different social systems, as a specific form of global development in our age does not mean in the least that a military clash between them is inevitable. "The course of history and social progress demands with increasing urgency the organization of a constructive interaction among countries and nations on a global scale," the Central Committee political report to the 27th CPSU Congress reads. "It not only demands but will create the necessary prerequisites--political, social and material--to this effect.

Such interaction is needed in order to avoid a nuclear catastrophe and allow civilization to survive. It is necessary so that, together and in the interests of everyone other aggravating universal problems can be resolved. Combining the competition and confrontation between the two systems and the increasing trend of interdependence among countries in the global community is the real dialectics of contemporary development. It is precisely thus, through the struggle of opposites, with difficulty and, to a certain extent, groping, that contradictions develop leading, however, to an interdependent and largely integrated world."

Demands regarding the scientific development of international problems on the global and regional levels increase under contemporary conditions. This involves, above all, the comprehensive study of the basic contradictions and main trends in global development, including interimperialist contradictions, the role and place of the developing countries, and the neocolonialist policy of imperialism and its multinational companies.

The imperialist propaganda centers conceal their policy of world domination under a variety of ideological vestments. So-called neoglobalism has become fashionable of late. Actually, this is a covert policy of suppressing the national independence of the peoples, overthrowing unsuitable regimes,

encouraging regional conflicts and practicing total state terrorism against progressive countries and freedom-loving peoples.

The Soviet scientists, who actively support the concept of gradual elimination of nuclear weapons and prevention of militarization of space by the end of the 20th century, deem it their obligation to expose the aggressive actions of imperialism and its reliance on the policy of force and on achieving military superiority and its "star wars" concept. Our scientists have frequently stated not without reason that such plans have no substance, for the land of the soviets will always find efficient means for countering any aggressive action.

We rely on the further energizing of the international scientific public for the preservation and salvation of human civilization. Scientists of all countries are equally interested in safeguarding peace and everyone of them could and should make his contribution to this universal matter.

The Soviet scientists are actively preparing for the second all-union conference against the threat nuclear conflagration, which will be dedicated to the International Year of Peace and will be held at the end of this coming May. More than 100 scientists from socialists, capitalists and developing countries have been invited to attend. We hope that this forum will provide a new incentive for energizing peace movements, the elimination of nuclear weapons and a peaceful outer space.

Imperialism is increasingly turning the productive power of science and man into forces of destruction. Our duty is to prove that the fruits of science bring not only a possible hurricane of destruction and the darkness of death but also the light of knowledge. They are the booster of social progress and a prerequisite for the blossoming of the creative capabilities and talents of man. Of late scientists have done a great deal to point out the threat of the abuse of science by reactionary forces. Now it is important to indicate also the powerful progressive force of science. The universal movement against the militaristic misuse of science must be directed also to the utilization of the achievements of the human genius for the benefit of man himself.

International scientific cooperation actively contributes to the cause of peace and social progress. The aspiration of imperialist forces, the U.S. administration above all, to undermine scientific and technical relations directly harms mankind's progress. Soviet scientists are actively promoting international scientific relations and defending the ideas of mutually profitable cooperation among scientific institutions and scientists in all countries. Cooperation with scientific institutions in the countries within the socialist community is particularly important in our work. We are currently engaged in the systematic implementation of a program for scientific and technical cooperation with CEPA members on a bilateral and multilateral basis until the year 2000. We must pay constant attention to the implementation of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress of CEPA members until the year 2000.

Halting the arms race and engaging in disarmament are considered by the Soviet Union and all members of the socialist community as closely linked to the



solution of other global problems encountered by mankind: surmounting economic backwardness, eliminating vast areas of hunger, poverty, epidemic diseases and illiteracy; meeting the growing needs of mankind for energy, raw material and food resources; protecting the environment; and ensuring the peaceful development of the world's ocean and outer space.

At the present time, thanks to the achievement of the scientific and technical revolution and the intensified internationalization of economic life, it has become possible for mankind to implement international programs for scientific research and experimental design and the development of equipment and technologies which can greatly increase public labor productivity. This could be the most reliable guarantee that the new achievements of the human genius will not become a reason for discord among nations but will be collectively utilized for the sake of everyone's interest.

The Soviet scientists view the historical significance of the 27th CPSU Congress in the fact that it has provided a profound analysis of the processes of global development at the contemporary crucial stage in history and of the internal and external conditions for the further progress of our society toward communism, embodying within its documents the party's course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The exceptionally practical, innovative and creative nature of the congress and the atmosphere of principle-mindedness, exigency and bolshevik truth which prevailed in it and the frank exposure of shortcomings and omissions directed the Soviet scientists to adopt a new approach and a self-critical attitude toward their work and to engage in intensive and efficient efforts to resolve the urgent and long-term problems set by the party for the sake of the peace and security of the peoples and the preservation and development of human civilization.

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## PARTY WORK UNDER CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS

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[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor V. Syaglov, first secretary, Ramonskiy CPSU Raykom, Voronezh Oblast]

[Text] These days, reading and rereading the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, to which I had the great honor of being a delegate, one naturally tries to define one's place as accurately and specifically as possible in the tremendous amount of work which lies ahead. "The task has risen in its full magnitude," the party's Central Committee political reports to the congress noted, "to surmount negative phenomena in the socioeconomic development of society as rapidly as possible, and give it the necessary dynamism and acceleration, and draw the maximally possible lessons from the past, so that decisions in the future may be maximally accurate and responsible, and specific actions purposeful and efficient." This applies to the entire party, to society as a whole and to everyone of us, the party aktiv above all.

New developments in politics do not appear out of thin air, merely from the desire to change one aspect of activities or another. In considering today the reasons which powerfully dictate the restructuring of our thinking and surmounting obsolete work stereotypes, I would place first the sharp growth in the social and political activeness of the working people. The April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum formulated a sequence of major, basic steps taken by the party aimed at the qualitative renovation of social life. Their implementation has become the most important concern of millions of Soviet people. Properly directing the energy of labor collectives and opening broad access to each useful undertaking and good initiative is the direct duty of party workers.

This applies to the work forms and methods used by party committees in decision making and organizing and verifying their implementation. Naturally, this also applies to the individual qualities and professional skills of party workers. The 27th CPSU Congress demanded a radical reorganization of party work. As it takes place, it will be extremely important to make use of everything better at the disposal of party committees and to harness all available reserves.

For the first time in many years, last year the kolkhozes and sovkhoses in our rayon fulfilled their state plan for the sale of animal husbandry goods, grain, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables, hay and grass meal. Equally pleasing is the fact that many farms have approached very closely the yield indicators planned for the beginning of the 12th 5-Year Plan.

Last year's results indicate that the labor efficiency of the rayon's farmers has increased substantially. However, we cannot fail to see that substantial unused reserves for upgrading crop growing and animal husbandry output remain. Comparisons make this clear. In the summer of 1982, soon after my appointment as first secretary of the Ramonskiy Party Raykom, I began to meet with the people and study the nature of the rayon's problems. I particularly noted two features inherent in lagging farms. The first was the lack of coordination among labor collectives and the absence of efficient planning to guide the actions of kolkhoz and sovkhos managers. The second was that the weeds of parasitism, indifference toward public concerns and a tolerance of obvious shortcomings, clear to one and all, had thickly grown on the soil of this disorder. A study indicated that such an intolerable situation had appeared mainly as a result of the weakened work by party committees and buros. The reasons for this phenomenon were different in each specific case. However, a detailed study proved that in each case the party organization secretaries and the elected aktiv of the chronically lagging farms had lost control over their most important function, which is to rally, to direct the collective toward a worthy objective.

Today, as they evaluate their work on the basis of the high criteria set by the 27th CPSU Congress, the rayon party members clearly realize that they have taken merely the first steps on the way to radical and basic changes in rural economic and sociocultural building. However, not for nothing is it said that the first step is the most important and most difficult. I believe that we have to a large extent been able to correct one of the most harmful faults: the passiveness of a number of party organizations, the waste of efforts on formal "measures," and a certain "mismatch" of the concerns of the farm's management, on the one hand, and the collective as a whole, on the other. In the course of my visits, talking to people and looking at economic accountability data, I see the invariable confirmation that real and durable success is achieved wherever the party members have been able to assert their vanguard role and head the most important work sectors, and where the party organization has become the center of attraction for the creative and constructive energy of the collective. A convincing example of this is found at the Put k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz and its party organization, headed by V.A. Zyuzukov, one of the best trained and most capable party leaders in the rayon.

The time is long past when the money owed by this farm to the state had reached 6-digits, and deficiency piled on deficiency in fields and livestock farms. Today Put k Kommunizmu is a kolkhoz-millionaire. In many respects its working people have become acknowledged innovators. Their results and ways and means of work are accepted as guidelines by the other rayon farms. Here is a typical feature: the severe drought which hit the oblast in 1984 severely hurt the economy of many kolkhozes and sovkhoses. However, not only was the Put K Kommunizmu Kolkhoz able to withstand it but it was also able to

show a profit in excess of 1.3 million rubles. In other words, kolkhoz chairman Hero of Socialist Labor M.V. Batukhtin and party committee secretary V.A. Zyuzukov observed one of the most important party requirements of a modern manager: to achieve excellent indicators despite difficulties.

I have frequently heard it said that the main secret of the Put K Kommunizmu Kolkhoz is that Batukhtin and Zyuzukov found each other and combined knowledge with experience. The effect of this combination was even more significant because both, in my view, and I am not alone, are not ordinary people. However, how frequently we come across capable and knowledgeable party secretaries who deliberately assume a "secondary role," acting as though under the supervision of the director! Why is this? In my view, the most likely reason is the inability or even unwillingness to realize one's role completely--the role of political leader of the collective.

In the past Mikhail Vladimirovich Batukhtin was not reluctant to give the busy party committee secretary purely technical assignments which would absorb his entire strength. As a result, Viktor Antonovich Zyuzukov traveled from one brigade to another, taking over the functions of secondary-level specialists, until he realized that that was not the way to work. The authority of the party organization and his own reputation had to be asserted through action. He decided to concentrate on cadre selection and education, which is the most important and essential objective. As this took shape, the current and long-term plans of the party committee changed, emphasizing the strengthening of primary party organizations and party groups. At that point a paradoxical situation became apparent: the kolkhoz party committee and administration were persistently demanding stronger discipline in brigades and livestock farms while in the decisive sectors the number of communists was one-third of those holding desk jobs!

Proper steps were taken by strengthening the party stratum in production units. However, the logic of work with people is such that each new success provides ever new opportunities. Zyuzukov realized that a useful initiative is supported only if it triggers an interest in the party members and develops their initiative. In this case a great deal depends on the party leadership, on secondary-level managers. But what type of people are they, what type of life stance do they have? How maximally to release the energy of the party and economic activists? The party committee tried to answer these and many other questions systematically and as accurately as possible. And all of a sudden, the noted chairman of this kolkhoz, in the front ranks in all areas, saw standing in front of him not simply a smart and cunning engineer, who was combining his main job with a party assignment, but a mature political leader, an equal fellow-worker. To M.V. Batukhtin's honor, he was able fully to appreciate the change in the party committee secretary.

Their comradeship is based on high level competence and decency. This helps them to maintain stable good relations and to avoid petty reciprocal claims; at the same time, it does not allow them to violate their conscience and party principle-mindedness. I am confident that this successful combination of characters and views is by no means the only thing which links Batukhtin with Zyuzukov. Also present here is a law according to which a deep awareness of party- and nationwide assignments enhance the minds and hearts of the people,

lead them to join efforts and eliminate all vanity or extraneous features in their work.

Nevertheless, how complex is the mechanism which rallies such a large number of human aspirations! Many temptations appear in this area, such as replacing, for example, comradely well-wishingness with mutual total forgiveness, simple interrelationships with familiarity and exigency with "power" pressure or irritable fault-finding.... One looks at a manager and is amazed: he says the proper things, holds one conference after another, yet progress eludes him. One begins to look for the reasons for such a situation and inevitably realizes that true business and party relations have been replaced by their clones. What should be used as a guarantee against failures in organizational and ideological work aimed at rallying the party members and, after them, all working people around the main social concerns? I am not about to issue a universal prescription. I would like to emphasize, however, a most important circumstance. Nothing harms the true rather the ostentatious unification of the collective more than the mentality and practice of haste, the emphasis on immediate and resounding success. Yes, today we are profoundly interested in a high pace of renovation of the economy and of other aspects of our life. However, this acceleration must be entirely based on the objective laws of social development. As the saying goes, it is those who saddle their horse properly who ride fast.

I recall my first impression of farms beyond the Don--a remote roadless part of the rayon, with five kolkhozes whose performance lowered our indicators year after year. Land unplowed for several years, thick weeds in the fields, broken down unclaimed equipment, a herd with extremely low milk yields and fouled blood lines.... The worst was that the people beyond the Don, including the party and economic activists, had lost faith in the possibility of a change for the better. What to do? Naturally, proper cadre transfers could yield significant results but, honestly speaking, at that time we did not have cadre reserves of suitable quality. Furthermore, the sickness affecting the farms beyond the Don was already old. Consequently, it was the very living conditions of the kolkhozes that had to be changed for the better. The raykom buro opted for the more difficult yet the only accurate way under the circumstances: build roads, undertake the building of housing and social-consumer projects, with the help of strong neighbors, while at the same time bring proper order in the production links. It was hoped that all of this would revive the work of the labor collectives and will thus allow the full display of the managers' organizational qualities

That is precisely what happened. Four of the five trans-Don kolkhoz chairmen were reelected 1.5-2 years later when basic facilities needed to meet the strict requirements were already extant. During that first autumn, three combined mechanized detachments plowed the land, headed by the chief of the agricultural administration, the chairman of the rayon people's control committee and the head of the CPSU raykom agricultural department. I.G. Roslyakov, the raykom's second secretary, spent his days and nights at the site. To start the project we gathered the best rayon mechanizers for a "drop" in this neglected part of the rayon. Obviously, they were missed in their own farms which were also doing in their autumn plowing. However, this situation greatly demanded the opposite example of usual slovenliness, for it



was necessary to break immediately the passive attitude of the majority of the kolkhoz members and to awaken the people's conscience and proprietary feeling.

Change in mentality and a turn to work methods aimed at ensuring the accelerated development of the economy and the social infrastructure are inconceivable without strict exigency toward oneself and others around us, and without the principle-mindedness on which relations among party members are based. I believe that nothing harms the prestige of a manager, a party member in particular, more than the absence of fairness in critical evaluations. Naturally, praising someone to excess is equally wrong. However, imposing a punishment regardless of the objective situation in which a worker has made an error invariably generates inner resentment. How could one take to task kolkhoz chairmen and party bureau secretaries in the trans-Don farms most strictly, if the rayon authorities were also largely to be blamed for their chronic lagging? However, after things were put in motion, it immediately became clear that some managers were obviously incompetent, others lacked persistence and consistency, others again lacked the skill to work with people or were simply dishonest; one would send his driver to wake up the chief specialists and brigade leaders while he personally stayed home, pretending to be already at work while the others were still sleeping... It is true that the rayon party committee bureau was not unanimous in its opinion of them. Our doubts were dispelled by the party and, subsequently, the general meetings held at the kolkhozes, where the collectives refused a vote of confidence to their former chairman. This made me realize once again how uncompromising is the assessment of the people with whom the party member-manager lives and works day after day.

Yes, such control is continuing, for any quality or action of a manager is always noted. It is no secret, however, that the views of a collective concerning its leader sometimes lead to nothing, stopping at discussions at cigarette breaks. Delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized that no manager should be safe from criticism or party responsibility. Public opinion must "work," and supply reliable feedback between managers and managed.

Last year, in the course of the accountability and election campaign in the party organizations, we asked more than 30 party members--managers and specialists--to report on the fulfillment of their production obligations and on meeting statutory party requirements. Naturally, this is not the only way of analyzing the activities of those entrusted with responsible sectors. Today, however, this type of control seems to me to be most energetic and maximally consistent with the spirit of the time. Yes, such reports, which are part of the arsenal of strong acting measures, cannot be abused. Whatever one may say, it is no simple matter for any person to stand up in public and describe what motivated his thoughts and actions. As a rule, however, with proper organization the benefit of a frank discussion between a manager and his party comrades, in the mandatory presence of nonparty activists at an open meeting, are quite substantial.

I recently asked a raykom bureau member, N. Ya. Averin, chairman of the Rossiya Kolkhoz, about his feelings after submitting such a report. "All kinds of feelings, simulataneously," Nikolay Yakovlevich answered. This, I believe, was a straight answer, for it would be difficult to determine clearly what

features of the practical, political and moral aspects of the work of a manager who submits a report become tightly interwoven here, in the course of such discussions. The kolkhoz party members accurately assessed the energetic attitude displayed by N. Ya. Averin and his growing competence. Unquestionably, these qualities of the chairman influenced the fact that Rossiya is increasing crop yields and fulfilled its 5-year plan for the sale of meat and milk to the government substantially ahead of schedule. However, at the same time, using specific examples, his comrades proved to Nikolay Yakovlevich that sometimes he lacks restraint and tends to flare up. He frequently undertakes 10 projects all at once, and takes over from the specialists. He pays insufficient attention to work with cadres and does not seek together with the party buro people with promotion potential. In a word, the chairman will have something to think about as he reads and rereads the character reference which was issued by the kolkhoz party members' meeting. I am confident that each one of its lines will be very useful to this manager of whom we expect a great deal.

It is possible to improve the moral atmosphere and successfully to struggle against flattery, subservience, intrigues and other similar phenomena which are contrary to the very spirit of party-mindedness, only when the party members consciously and persistently defend the democratic standards of communal life. Although this is an old truth, today many of us are reinterpreting its significance and comparing it with the facts of daily life.

Here is one: A telephone call from the agricultural administration seeking advice: Somov, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni S. M. Kirov, has refused to accept part of his annual bonus. What to do? I answered: it is his right and, obviously, the money should go to the state treasury. However, I wanted to know the reason, and the next time I met Nikolay Yefimovich I asked him why. It turned out that this had nothing to do with the desire to make an unusual gesture, to show off. Somov's family is well-off and is not eager for more money. The chairman computed the annual results and decided that signing a voucher for a grain bonus would be unfair, for neither was the crop record-setting nor of exceptional quality. As to bonuses for above-plan sales of milk, meat, potatoes and sugar beets, in their case the kolkhoz indicators had gone up, everyone had earned well and, consequently, the chairman himself had a right to a bonus. I was pleased for the sake of the kolkhoz members, for they were being led by a truly conscientious person. I also thought that Nikolay Yefimovich's action was dictated by the type of behavior which had been adopted by the kolkhoz party members several years ago and was already yielding substantial results.

The farm imeni S. M. Kirov is located in the trans-Don area. From the very start of the past 5-year plan it experienced all the hardships of lack of roads, manpower scarcity, and low labor and leisure time organization standards. However, after the kolkhoz was linked with the rayon center with a bridge and a motor vehicle track things improved vastly. What we considered most encouraging was the fact that from the very beginning N. Ye. Somov and L.P. Zelenchukova, kolkhoz party buro secretary, had relied on collectivism, on the development of democratic principles. Publicity in the competition, the energetic and thoughtful work of the brigade councils in all production subunits and the effectiveness of worker meetings, in addition to other

features typical of the Kirov people, can be justifiably credited to the kolkhoz party organization, which was able to find the way to the heart of its fellow villagers.

Obviously, not least here were the personal qualities of the party buro secretary. Lyubov Petrovna Zelenchukova may speak quietly but when she does everyone listens. For a long time she was a veterinarian. We began to notice, however, that she was carrying out her party assignments not as an additional burden but as something needed by her soul with its generous goodness. As party secretary, without any particular devices she was able to make conscience rule the actions of party members.

Naturally, our purpose is not to present matters in the kolkhoz in an ideal light. However, the atmosphere which developed in that farm leads us to hope that the number of loafers, drunks and money grubbers will be steadily diminishing here, for they will be rejected by those around them. Looking at the practices of the Kolkhoz imeni S. M. Kirov we see that the most significant progress has been made collectively, "by the entire world." Here, when mechanizers are certified, when the executive committee passes a resolution banning the sale of alcohol during the sowing and harvesting seasons, when housing is allocated or when a hay-mowing subbotnik is organized, with the participation of young and old, everyone is aware of the event, everything is discussed knowledgeably and everything is done in public. Therefore, any good initiative is guaranteed support and success. For example, recently the kolkhoz board and party committee suggested to the collective to do without the help of townspeople in the grain harvest. Obviously, this will require additional work but the results will be easier to determine and the earnings will go to the kolkhoz. It was decided at the meeting that it made sense to rely on one's own forces. It is thus that cost accounting is estimated and asserted in practice.

Unfortunately, examples of a different nature may be found in the practices of the rayon party organization. Looking at the personal files of party members and at situations which required, as the saying goes, surgical intervention, we invariably see that the nutritive grounds for violations of statutory standards and various official abuses are caused by the weakening or disappearance of democratic principles in the activities of one party organization or another. Let us take as an example the recent case of account padding and theft discovered at the rayon department of the state seed inspectorate. For several years V.G. Korniyushin, its former chief, swindled the state, exaggerating successes with the seed stock, and appropriating fraudulently obtained funds, while the people around him, including party members, pretended that nothing reprehensible was happening. Why? Above all because "it was not accepted" to speak of management style at the seed inspectorate department loudly and bluntly. All significant problems were solved in secret, behind closed doors. It is precisely such secrecy that creates nutritive grounds for delinquencies and conceals a variety of violations of standards and principles of socialist economic management and of our morality. Naturally, in some cases the foundations of intraparty democracy must be stubbornly defended against the encroachments of people such as Korniyushin, who has now been expelled from the party. But who will start

claiming that the way to eliminate difficulties followed today by the party members should be strewn with roses?

Let us also mention briefly such a catalyst for account padding and misrepresentation as the fact that the superior organization "expects," overtly or covertly, to receive favorable and pleasing data. Such expectation, which is essentially hostile an objective assessment of the real situation, is immediately sensed by those who like to live under the shadow of fictitious percentages. Furthermore, even some honest people frequently yield to the silent influence or even pressure of statistical results "preferred at the top." We believe that total elimination of an evil such as account padding should demand having maximally pure objectives on the part of those who submit and receive information. "Any embellishment, not to speak of an obvious lie," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at the conference of the party and economic activists of Tyumen and Tomsk Oblasts, "can only harm our great cause. This Leninist behest must be the standard of life of our society." Yes, precisely so: the standard of social life. Otherwise, here and there "producers" and "consumers" of distorted data will appear, data which, as a rule, conceal a profound indifference to the work.

Of late the party committees have had to deal with increasing urgency with the question of the clear and substantiated demarcation of functions between them and economic and other state and public bodies. A separate section dealing with this problem has been incerted in the CPSU statutes. I believe that all of these are quite important and quite noteworthy steps. Actually, in frequent cases the party secretary continues to walk in the footsteps of the economic manager. However, the reverse is frequently true as well: the party worker thinks and acts like an economic manager: occasionally one does not know whether he is dealing with the raykom secretary or the "rayon director." What is the first duty of a party worker, to which he should dedicate his maximal efforts and capabilities? Making no attempt at engaging in a comprehensive discussion of this most important problem, let me share a few personal observations.

Any activity has its specific job target and a corresponding set of means and methods. Which is the object of management by a party committee? Unquestionably, the totality of economic and sociopolitical aspects of the life of the area, department, enterprise, etc. However, while retaining full responsibility as a ruling party, we must systematically and accurately be oriented toward political leadership of people working in a specific sector, and motivate labor collectives and leading cadres to work as demanded by society at large. I anticipate the following question: Are these objectives not formulated in the party's programmatic documents, and are they not basic for all members and party committees? Be that as it may, in fact the party committees frequently take the beaten track of direct economic and bureaucratic administration. What is the reason for such a durable aspiration on our part to replace political functions with functions extraneous to party leadership?

The historical reasons which developed as a result of the rigid centralism, which was the only possible method under the conditions of war and postwar times, have been analyzed in sufficient detail in the press. Also noted has



been the fact that a substantial percentage of party cadres like to use in their work methods with which they became well familiar in previous stages in their careers as economic and planning workers. Furthermore, as was quite bluntly stated at the 27th CPSU Congress, the imperfection of the planning and economic mechanism is constantly urging us directly to interfere in economic management practices. At this point, I would like to mention yet another factor which hinders the profound mastery of the science and art of political management by party leaders to the extent which our time demands of us.

Recently, rereading M. Gorkiy, I came across a thought which seemed particularly relevant today: conservatism appears on the grounds of convenience. It is indeed true that a habit becomes such when it creates no difficulties. As to our practice of engaging in direct economic dispatching activities, of handling rubles, tons, hectares, and kilometers, it is frequently much more comfortable and simpler than studying the actions of one manager or another or analyzing, as Lenin said, the line of his political behavior. I know this from personal experience and from the frank admissions of my colleagues. What is the nature of the simplicity and convenience of "economic methods" in party work?

I believe, above all, that they allow us to create the appearance of engaging in energetic and varied activities and the participation of the party committee in literally all labor collective initiatives, ensuring a "paper flood" downwards and upwards, something which is considered in some places as the virtually only material result of party work. Secondly, the use of administrative methods helps some workers to avoid long-term major problems by plunging into the salutary current affairs, dividing the single, although dialectically complex and conflicting, process of development of economic and other areas of life into "campaigns," which can be easily controlled on a day-to-day basis. Finally, this type of approach or, to put it more broadly, this style of management, also presumes corresponding methods: flailing of executives, abusive criticism and dressing down economic managers over trifles. Frankly, some party raykom workers like such methods, for they help to release negative feelings which, alas, abound in any type of executive work.

Obviously, all of these factors do not contribute in the least to the manifestation of creativity and initiative in primary party organizations. Furthermore, they promote nervousness and insecurity, and increase the number of managers who, as the saying goes, are nourished not by bread but by "reports" or "certifications." Clearly, it becomes particularly crucial to eliminate such faults today, when the party is systematically following the line of expanding the rights of labor collectives in all national economic areas, when a single agroindustrial complex is shaping up, the purpose of which is to eliminate "multiple command" in agricultural production.

Any "lack of moderation" in management, petty supervision of subordinates, excessive zeal at someone else's expense and reliance on giving orders instead of patiently working for the comradely unification of people in labor and in the management of public affairs is becoming, in my view, increasingly intolerable in relations among party members, party committees and economic bodies and public organizations. Therefore, it is time seriously to undertake



to strengthen the type of procedure in party work which would exclude even the slightest possibility of displaying "shining successes" through ostentatious speed and deliberately and purposefully to create conditions in which any zealous "master of accountability" would begin to feel much worse than someone guiding constructive processes farsightedly and thoughtfully.

How can we release better and more reliably the mental and spiritual energy of party workers and relieve them from concerns alien to political leadership? A number of possibilities exist. Here is one: it seems to me that in recent years regulating the work of party raykom personnel, such as instructors and department heads, has proved unnecessary as a result of the direct application of the "economic dispatching" methods I mentioned. Numerous planning sessions and personnel and "by invitation only" meetings are held, individual and rather detailed plans are drafted, usually described as "creative." However, it is precisely the creative elements in this cycle that are lacking. A close consideration of most measures implemented by the raykom party personnel reveals them as primarily informative, while analytical problems are pushed into the background. "We submitted a reference" is the quite typical answer of the instructor and, sometimes, the department head, asked about progress in their assigned sector. Understandably, this approach triggers the real threat that it is a competition not among activities but pieces of paper. The latter, however, as we know, revives supporters of formalism and routine.

In an effort to counter this trend, to begin with, we decided to reduce the number of conferences and documents issued by the raykom to the primary party organizations drastically, almost by one-half. What happened? Despite the fears expressed by some experienced raykom workers, no single indicator which had previously been the topic of long discussions, declined. Furthermore, the economic managers--the unit most closely subject to comprehensive control--immediately reacted by intensifying economic and educational work in their subdivisions. Primary party organization secretaries had more time and, therefore, the possibility of shifting their efforts from desk work or conference hall to livestock farm, shop or field. As to the raykom personnel, they too could breathe more easily and to increase the frequency of their visits to their assigned collectives. The result was the appearance of a much greater number of interesting and thought-out suggestions and simply ideas without which the reciprocal enrichment of people pursuing the same objective is impossible.

The second direction along which we are trying to strengthen the creative principles in the work of the CPSU raykom is the use of a system of specific and essentially long-term assignments, which take into consideration social requirements and the inclinations of the specific individual. Naturally, here the approach is strictly individual and has nothing in common with a campaign. Some workers have enough strength only for their official duties, whereas such assignments are, in a way, voluntary, the expression of personal need. For example, I may like construction work; someone else finds it interesting to participate in the application of brigade forms of labor organization and wages; others again willingly apply their knowledge and capabilities to improvements in verbal propaganda. This leads to the establishment of an informal link between the party worker and the real sectors in life, based on inner needs.

The natural question here is the following: does this pertain to party representatives, who have long been judged unnecessary? No, we abandoned the system of representatives in our rayon once and for all. The pernicious effect of their work was that their actions encouraged the instant approach to complex problems, which frequently deprived labor collectives of the autonomy without which no talent can truly flourish. By assigning to a party raykom worker sponsorship over a project or process (naturally, this does not apply to seasonal campaigns), we try to strengthen in the person his efficiency, to develop a feeling of responsibility and the skill to provide political guidance in resolving major problems. Available experience indicates that on the rayon level it is entirely possible to combine such activities with basic official duties. Furthermore, this develops mutual respect in relations among raykom personnel as well as competitiveness without which, I believe, no creativity is possible.

Party-political work free from a reality saturated with economic problems is inconceivable. Today more than ever before the party worker must have a profound knowledge of national economic problems. He must be totally competent in specialized areas of knowledge. If necessary, he must be ready energetically to influence production. With all this, however, I believe that the end result of his work does not lie in strictly economic indicators but in the moral and political state of labor collectives, which predetermines their progress. This, essentially, is our objective in maximally concretizing some of the concerns of one party worker or another for the sake of greater clarity.

In thinking of the ways and means of resolving the tremendously complex and significant problems of the 12th 5-Year Plan, many among us look back at the last accountability and election campaign in the party organizations. As elsewhere in the country, this campaign became an essential, a turning point in the life of the rayon party members. In almost 20 years of party work I do not recall the level of activeness with which the discussion on crucial changes and means of progress was held last autumn. Suffice it to say that in our rayon more than 98 percent of the party members showed up at accountability and election meetings; some 400 suggestions aimed at improving the economic and social areas, ideological work and many other spheres of party committee activities were received from the 3,000 members of the rayon party organization.

The depth and substantiation of a significant share of the views expressed by the party members were impressive. Personally, I would particularly like to note the following feature of the accountability and election conferences I had the opportunity to attend: a noticeable inclination shown by the people for broad publicity of all aspects of management. This is understandable, for the democratization of social life is reaching today increasingly deeper strata and the rank-and-file communists and all working people not only can but must be familiar with the power-exercise mechanisms, for this is directly related to their basic interests and private lives. That is why again and again we are concerned by the main problem: what is being accomplished in each assigned sector and is it being accomplished in such a way that practical actions are consistent with the hopes of the people and that the work of the party organizations and labor collectives is filled with individual

initiative, in the way that a river is fed by hundreds of streams. The basic concepts formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress on way of changing the socioeconomic situation in the countryside require immediate and energetic action not only on the rayon and oblast management levels but on a national scale. The political stipulations of the highest party forum must be quickly and qualitatively converted into standard-setting documents of the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosagroprom and all ministries and departments, which largely formulate the "technology" of the implementation of the resolutions of the party congress. I am convinced that the responsibility and efficiency in the work of state planning and management bodies will yield increasing results through the activities of hundreds of thousands of labor collectives.

As to the specific procedure for blending together the efforts and interests of large numbers of people and firmly combining party-political with economic work methods, I believe that the approach here is the one which was tested a hundred times over in the early stages of our party and state construction: not all problems are resolved by voting. However, all of them without exception must be discussed collectively. The efficiency of this Leninist principle is always self-evident. For example, this year's plan of the rayon's farms is quite stressed. As to the second part of the familiar stipulation that "it is realistic," we clarified it in accordance with the rule adopted in the rayon: we acquainted the economic managers and the party aktiv with the plan, gave them time to think about it and gathered them for a collective study.

The discussion which took place was profound and mature. Understandably, feelings were displayed while farm chairmen and directors were distributing among themselves assignments dealing with one "rayon" indicator or another. This, however, did not hinder the work. Nor did the primary party organization secretaries lose any time. They immediately drew up a list of measures which would help to apply the new equipment, enhance cadre skills and ensure the combativeness of party groups.

The 27th CPSU Congress formulated a strategy for accelerating our country's development during an extremely crucial stage in history, laying the beginning of radical change in all aspects of Soviet social life. The task now is comprehensively to get to work, to do the difficult and complex work which will demand of all of us our total efforts and capabilities. No other way exists or could exist, for the extent of results is always determined in the Leninist Party by the extent of the unity between mobilizing words and real accomplishments.

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## TO THINK AND WORK IN A NEW WAY: CONGRESS DELEGATES SPEAK

### RESERVES OF WORKER INITIATIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 56-58

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor CPSU Central Committee Member A. Korolev, head of a lathe operators' brigade, Ural Heavy Machine Building Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze]

[Text] First of all let me single out the following stipulation expressed in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th CPSU Congress, submitted by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev: "As we know, any reorganization of the economic mechanism begins with a reorganization of the consciousness, a rejection of existing mental and practical stereotypes, and a clear understanding of the new tasks." This concept and Mikhail Sergeyevich's words on cases of unrhythmical work by our enterprises unwittingly raised the following question: Is the overfulfillment of the plans of individual workers and entire brigades always necessary in an enterprise? Many of my colleagues, turners in machine building plants, will unquestionably answer in the negative and would be right. The parts which the worker has turned above his quota are truly necessary if they are used, if they help the shop to assemble a machine above the plan. If such parts are taken to the warehouse, as a reserve, as they say, where they gather rust, result of such shock work are few. Naturally, under conditions in which there is shortage of machine-tool workers in most machine building enterprises, overfulfilling assignments is one of the means of the available personnel to fulfill the plan. This, however, does not eliminate the essential question of how to "include" such overfulfillment in the work rhythm of the entire plant?

An attempt to solve this problem was made by our brigade. Last 5-year period we began to draft annual socialist obligations which not simply exceeded the planned assignments but did so by specific amounts, taking as a starting point the level already reached, the enterprise's plan and the turners' individual possibilities.

By Uralmash standards, our collective is experienced. The labor seniority of the turners ranges between 15 and 30 years. Everyone is thoroughly familiar with the equipment and with technological and procurement bottlenecks. The people also have their views on ways to perfect machining. Having collectively analyzed everything, we saw that an annual increase in labor productivity of 15-20 percent was possible.

What type of reserves did we find? Reorganization was one of them. We have worked as a brigade for many years. We have become accustomed to a three-shift schedule (shifts take over without stopping the machines), based on a single order; wages are based on individual contribution. However, the type of output of our association is special. The parts for excavators, grinding and crushing equipment, and drilling systems which we machine are big, weighing several tons each. That is why the turner must have an assistant to help him set and fasten the part to the lathe. The turner is kept busy throughout the shift while his assistant has a great deal of free time. After helping to set up the semifinished part and to fasten it, and after measuring it several times and removing the shavings, he can sit down and rest. But why should the assistant not assume part of the responsible operations, we asked?

To begin with, for the boy this means learning, mastering the skill of the turner faster. In that case the brigade would not hold him back but would recommend him for independent work in another collective. Secondly, a turner with such an assistant could service not one but several machine-tools. Correspondingly, the question of wages could be reconsidered.

This facilitated conversion to multiple machine-tool work. One turner with two assistants per shift were released. Nine instead of 12 people were able to handle three lathes.

We also earmarked some technological improvements which enable us to make fuller use of the possibilities of the equipment, such as doing some milling work on a lathe. Designers from the Uralmash Scientific Research Institute, to whom we turned, helped us to simplify the calibration of the devices needed for using the suitable attachments.

The main feature was the reorganized planning of brigade work in accordance with socialist obligations and enterprise plans. Previously we were issued a monthly assignment on the basis of which we were assigned tools, power resources, etc. It was considered that overfulfilling obligations was a strictly personal matter. We made a different decision: a rhythm is needed in order to work truly efficiently and not "for the warehouse." Based on our obligations, the brigade is issued shift-daily assignments amended on the basis of procurements of semifinished parts and the work schedule of assembly shops.

The shop's chief and its economists showed an interest in this suggestion, for such a system would eliminate the traditional rushing at the end of the month, when the turner runs to the neighboring shop to "pick up" semifinished parts, while assembly workers stand "on guard" by his tool in order to pick up the finished part sooner. However, this also meant converting from monthly to weekly and shift-daily planning, recording output on a daily basis, analyzing losses and reorganizing ties with procurement services. Some heads of sectors and services developed a negative attitude toward the suggestion, justifiably seeing in it possible "further work." However, at the shop party meeting, where the initiative was discussed, we were supported by the party buro and the majority of party members. Furthermore, other brigades began to organize their work similarly and to review their obligations.



Our collective fulfilled its 11th 5-Year Plan in less than 4 years. In 1985 we increased labor productivity by 23 percent. By the end of last year, more than 1,000 brigades in the association were following "our" method. This contributed to the fast reorganization of the shops according to the system of the economic experiment and, despite the scarcity of machine-tool workers, enabled Uralmash successfully to fulfill its stressed plans for the final year of the 5-year plan.

The resolutions of the congress face the association as a whole and everyone of us with new responsible tasks. This "plant of plants," which determines to a significant extent the work of many economic sectors throughout the country, must be restructured in such a way as to hasten the development of new equipment consistent with the highest achievements of machine building worldwide. Our brigade as well earmarked its long-term developments within this reorganization. In 1986 labor productivity will be increased by yet another 18 percent and the quality of machined parts will be drastically improved. Since the old possibilities will clearly be unable to ensure such a work level to its fullest extent, we turned to the scientists and specialists in the scientific research institute of our association with the request to cooperate in perfecting equipment, tools and technologies. They supported this initiative. The brigade and the creative groups set up at the institute immediately identified the bottlenecks and jointly undertook to look for ways to eliminate them. We also concluded a socialist competition contract with related workers--with the comprehensive consolidated brigade at the procurement shop, headed by V. Zhigalin. That is why to me Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words to the effect that "the strict observance of cooperated procurements is the obligation of labor collectives and all management units" sounded like a precise presentation of our vital problems, for in the competition rules the stipulation of upgrading procurement quality and rhythm is essential. Together with the related brigade we fulfilled our obligations and on the day the 27th CPSU Congress opened we completed our quarterly plan.

At the end of each shift, as I turn over the operating machine-tools to my comrade, I make notes in my brigade leader's notebook. In it I record the work of each one of us, day after day. At that point I do not think of the work alone. Turners M. Gorbachev, R. Khabibov and I became friends a long time ago. This friendship extends to our families as well. We share joys and concerns and try to help one another in everything. Every year a considerable percentage of our collective--our assistants--is replaced. Having acquired experience and skill, having realized their personal responsibility for assignments, they become independent workers. We take over novices and begin all over again. Naturally, this is not easy but we realize that today it is very important to help young people to acquire good labor training, which will help the plant in gaining skilled turners at a faster rate.

Something else which, in my view, is most important is that endless possibilities for worker initiative in seeking ways of upgrading production efficiency exist. Who better than we can know the difficulties and obstacles of the job and in our work place? Who if not we can help the engineer and designer better to find his way in the search and testing of technical innovations which are so greatly needed today? This is an inexhaustible

reserve. However, we must always remember that I, you, the collective, can resolve any problem if we do not wait for someone else to resolve it but ourselves act daringly, with initiative, carefully. This is what the 27th CPSU Congress asked us to do.

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## WORK CONSCIENTIOUSLY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 58-60

[Article by V. Sarayeva, weaver at the Ivanovo Blended Yarn Combine imeni K.I. Frolov, bearer of the Labor Glory Order second and third class, city soviet deputy]

[Text] I was filled with pride as I listened to the CPSU Central Committee political reports to the 27th Party Congress and the delegates' speeches. Where, in what other country, is the working person so honored!

I grew up in Ivanovo Oblast on the Volga. Since childhood I had heard a great deal about weavers Yevdokiya and Mariya Vinogradov. That is why I enrolled in the vocational technical school in Vichuga, today named after one of the initiators of the Stakhanov movement in the textile industry. I then completed my practical training at the very same sector in the Spinning and Weaving Factory imeni V.P. Nogin, where my great fellow-countrywomen set their records in the 1930s.

Assigned to the Blended Yarn Combine imeni K.I. Frolov, in Ivanovo, I immediately plunged into work with my entire youthful energy. I did not want to let down those who had become actively involved in my work. I tried to work as I had been taught by my instructors and as was the old custom in my family, where there were seven of us and where work and industriousness were revered above anything else.

Standing by the looms, I would forget everything but the work. Not everything went smoothly at first, particularly when the technological regimen was disturbed. However, what a tremendous satisfaction I felt by correcting any holdup in my "weaver's nest." The looms would rhythmically click around me and I would move among them as though on wings. What an influx of strength I felt whenever I would be encouraged and my zeal praised at that moment! I would want to do better and more, and would become more confident in my own forces. It is thus that I gained experience and gradually expanded my work area to 16 double-width looms, which was double the norm, as a result of which I was able to fulfill 10 annual assignments during the 11th 5-Year Plan. The same level was reached by spinners Nina Vasilyevna Toporina, Raida Fedorovna Sokolova, Galina Dmitriyevna Terekhina, Lyudmila Vasilyevna Galysheva and Vera

Pinkina, my young relief worker. At our enterprise more than 900 textile workers were able to fulfill their individual 5-year plans ahead of schedule.

Unfortunately, however, by no means does everyone work like this. I recall the following case: Assistant Foreman V.P. Malafeyev was summoned to the shop's party buro and asked to transfer to a lagging brigade. Vitaliy Petrovich turned to me: "Will you help me in the new job?" How to refuse? We went to the new work place and what did we see? Broken up looms, carelessly set warp, dust and dirt everywhere. I asked myself what were the people here doing before we came? A good thing was that the assistant foreman was outstanding. He was always busy fixing and repairing parts. If a major breakdown occurred, he would not relax until he had found the trouble and corrected it. As a result of such an attitude, 2 months later our new complex became frontranking.

What about Malafeyev's predecessor? Was he punished? No, he was simply transferred to another section. The time has come to consider: is this not one of the main reasons for which some people plunge into the work whereas others, if not obviously idling, are at best cool toward their assignment. Nothing can be gotten out of such people and everything is useless. In order to eliminate such indifference to the work, everyone must know what everyone else has produced and how, where was an error made and who made it, and who was punished for carelessness. The key item here is the brigade labor organization method, about which a great deal was said at the congress. This is the dominant method in our combine. The study of the work of new type brigades indicated that the discipline strengthened and the level of order and organization improved in such labor collectives.

However, we were not satisfied with our achievements. The laboratory for scientific organization of labor and production management summed up suggestions submitted by workers and specialists and earmarked a program for further improving brigade work. What were the results?

Until recently, the following could be frequently noticed in our shop: the weaver would remove a bobbin from the loom although some 10 or even more loops of good yarn remained, and would toss it in the spare container. If I asked "why are you turning a semifinished item into waste?" the answer would be the following: "I am responsible not for the yarn but for a number of meters of fabric. If I were to wait for the end of the spool I would lose time and one of the looms would stop." Today this has been practically eliminated: four-fifths of all weaving brigades have been converted to cost accounting. Their work is mandatorily assessed on the basis of raw and other material outlays. Last year alone our brigade was able to save about 7 tons of yarn. The entire weavers' collective saved 450 tons, or as much as we need for a full week of three-shift work.

The question of upgrading labor productivity and work quality was again sharply raised at the party congress. Today it has become clear that essential changes can be made here only if everyone would begin by asking first of all himself: "What have I, personally, contributed to this effect?" Material in addition to moral steps should be taken in the case of those whose

worker conscience has not been awakened. It is high time to hit loafers and waste-makers in their pocketbook!

Let me also ask the following: is it always right to demand of us to increase output in terms of pieces or meters? In some stores the shelves are bending under piles of shoes; elsewhere, we see piles of carelessly made clothing; in others again one is offered faded fabrics. No one is buying such items. Meanwhile, the shoe, clothing and textile conveyor belts are continuing to produce unnecessary objects for the sake of "gross output." This notorious "gross output" is quite enduring! Obviously, the entire trouble is that some comrades, many of whom hold responsible positions, are totally unable to abandon the obsolete thinking stereotype according to which volume instead of quality indicators is the cornerstone. How timely did Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev say from the rostrum of the 27th Congress that today "what will matter most will not be gross output but the quantity, variety and quality of goods, which is what the people need."

The Soviet people expect of the textile workers not simply "meters" but beautiful and good quality fabrics, pleasing to the eyes of the customers. To accomplish this, everyone of us must work at his job with his entire strength and try to reach the highest possible level. I, for example, had fulfilled my four-month assignment in 2 months by the time the 27th Congress opened. I do not intend to slow down in the future. This is made incumbent upon me by my duty as a delegate to the 27th Congress and my worker's conscience. If everyone of us would do everything possible, how much richer and stronger will our homeland be!

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## THE PEOPLE SET THEIR OWN TASKS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 60-61

[Article by M. Kasenova, head of crop-growing tractor brigade, Kenashchinskiy Sovkhoz, Kokchetav Oblast, Enbekshilderskiy rayon party committee buro member]

[Text] An upsurge in agricultural production and drastically increasing the efficiency and quality of the work of the agroindustrial complex, these most important problems in contemporary economic strategy, were profoundly and comprehensively considered in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Communist Party Congress, submitted by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, the report by N.I. Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, on Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000, and the speech by Comrade V.S. Murakhovskiy, USSR Gosagroprom chairman. It was particularly emphasized at the congress that despite the entire importance of strengthening the material and technical foundations for crop growing and animal husbandry, the person, the rural worker, was, is and will remain the main booster of progress, its soul.

The accuracy of this formulation of the problem is entirely confirmed by our sovkhoz's experience. Promoting the human factor and simply excluding all manifestations of unconscientiousness, carelessness and negligence was the main topic of the statements by party members at the winter agricultural training organized by the sovkhoz party committee. In this connection, a great deal was said about improving the brigade contracting method in our sovkhoz.

Two years ago, the administration and the party committee recommended to me that I head a tractor-crop-growing brigade and not only simply to head it but to reorganize the work. Frankly, I did not accept immediately, for it was a question of becoming the head of a collective in which I had developed as a mechanizer. In 13 years I had learned to drive farm tractors of virtually all makes and handle a grain harvester (in one season, not so long ago, I had threshed 10,000 quintals of grain; by Kazakhstan virgin land tradition, this accomplishment is considered a mechanizer's graduation diploma). However, I had no experience in management or knowledge of the basics of agricultural economy and planning on the brigade level. This was one of the reasons for which I, a mother of three, took a correspondence course at the Kokchetav branch of the Tselinograd Agricultural Institute.

We were the first in the farm to adopt the brigade contracting method and practical returns came unexpectedly fast. That year the people in the village noted that our mechanizers had become more efficient and enterprising. While other brigades were discussing who would harrow and who would care for the crops we had already assigned duties and cultivated several dozen hectares. We finished plowing 1 day before our neighbors and were able to remove the weeds before sowing. Our success was based on the combination of such "petty" matters: our harvest from each of the 6,674 hectares was above sovkhos average and our production costs were lower.

Personal interest in the success of the common project and intolerance of shortcomings in the work of others appeared. At one point, while one shift was taking over from another, one of the most experienced of our mechanizers brought to the field a comrade working the neighboring plot and publicly demanded: "Either don't let him do the sowing or make him work properly. He is after gross output and I don't like this..." The brigade council which, in addition to me, includes the most prestigious mechanizers--party members L. Fink, V. Triller and others--decided to take this fact into consideration in determining the labor participation coefficient. We also reminded the careless worker of the fact that with the present increase in labor productivity the brigade could also do with fewer people. Results were not slow in coming....

In 2 years of work in the brigade we were able to determine our possibilities better and to experience the results of our joint efforts. In honor of the 27th Party Congress our collective assumed the socialist obligation of obtaining high yields per hectare from our extremely poor and infertile saline land. We shall fulfill our obligations. This is my word as a party member and delegate to the 27th Party Congress.

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## ALLIED WITH SCIENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 62-66

[Article by O. Bokeriya, first secretary of the Georgian CP Gardabanskiy Raykom]

[Text] The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress set a problem which we must resolve within the shortest possible time: meeting the full needs of the country for food. This will call for significantly improving the socioeconomic situation in the countryside and creating conditions for the more extensive production intensification and guaranteed food procurements. It is absolutely clear that the tremendous work which awaits us is inconceivable without close cooperation between agriculture and a great variety of scientific sectors.

Thanks to long persistent and purposeful work done by the rayon party organization to set up such cooperation, today we are witnessing a substantial elimination of inertia and indifference toward scientific achievements on the part of our rayon working people. Our Gardabanskiy Rayon is now known as the republic's testing grounds for progressive scientific thinking. However, we do not tend to overestimate achievements and clearly see that the barrier of mistrust in science remains. It will be eliminated the sooner, the faster we are able to convince one and all that the use of science is beneficial to the individual worker, to the farm and to society as a whole, and that the extensive use of the results of scientific thinking can drastically upgrade production efficiency and make work for oneself and society much more profitable.

This conclusion is convincingly confirmed by facts. The senior generation remembers what the land in today's Gardabanskiy Rayon was like not so long ago: sickly grass in spring, a lifeless sun-burned steppe in summer grazed by a few herds of sheep. The poor Gardaban soil could be improved only through the extensive and stubborn efforts of thousands of people, including the party workers. The land reclamation workers were the first to take up the project by building the Samgorskaya irrigation system, after which the rayon was able to grow grain, vegetable and grapes and develop beef and dairy animal husbandry. The importance of this situation can be easily understood by recalling that Gardabanskiy Rayon is neighbors the republic's capital. Furthermore, Rustavi is also in the vicinity. This is a large Georgian

industrial center, a city of metallurgical and chemical workers. This closeness demands of the Gardabanskiy Rayon people to supply the citizens with an increasing number of fresh vegetables and meat and dairy products. It is precisely in the production of such items that our rayon specialized in the past 15 years.

Today the public farms in Gardabanskiy Rayon account for more than one-quarter of all vegetables, more than 22 percent of the eggs, up to 10 percent of the meat and about 6 percent of the milk procured in the republic. The rayon has 12 percent of the republic's irrigated land. It supplies the highest amount of finished products for the implementation of the Food Program in the Georgian SSR. Nevertheless, the reserves for economic growth which must be utilized this 5-year plan are quite substantial. An alliance with science and a well-organized system for upgrading crop growing standards and developing animal husbandry on an industrial basis are considered by the rayon party organization the main way of harnessing such possibilities. A favorable factor in resolving our problems is the fact that a number of branches, experimental stations and support centers of scientific research institutes are located in the rayon.

Work in the rayon related to agricultural production intensification began precisely with the study of their activities and the level of efficiency of scientific research. We realized most clearly through personal experience that the absence of an intermediary link between science and production--an application service--exceptionally hindered the practical utilization of scientific developments and recommendations and that the existing system of planning and economic incentive did not adequately interest economic managers and specialists in making use of the achievements of science and progressive experience.

Therefore, the entire organization of application had to be decisively restructured. The rayon party committee undertook to shorten the way between idea and livestock farm or crop. The raykom buro passes a special decree on this problem. An organizational committee was set up and assigned to draft a plan for the implementation of scientific achievements by sector, crop and technological process, based on individual farm conditions. This was followed by the formulation of the first 3-year plan for the rayon's development. A rayon coordination council was set up to implement the program. Both it and the 15 sectorial sections included managers of rayon party, soviet and economic bodies, republic ministries and departments, scientists and farm managers and specialists.

Starting with the 1980s, the rayon has put to practical use more than 130 progressive developments and recommendations based on scientific research and progressive experience. This applies, above all, to efficient crop rotation, use of new plant and animal strains, breeds and hybrids, new feed varieties and new models of machines and equipment adapted to local conditions. The rayon is making extensive use of chemicals, liquid and waterless chemical fertilizers and progressive forms of labor organization and management of the agroindustrial complex.

As a result of all of this, between 1981 and 1985 grain crops increased from 21.4 to 27.5 quintals per hectare and vegetables from 158 to 200 quintals. Average annual milk yields per cow increased by 240 kilograms over the past 5 years, currently totaling 2,465 kilograms; daily weight increases of cattle for meat rose by 203 grams. The volumes of output and sale of agricultural commodities to the state increased correspondingly. Last year, for example, sales in comparable prices totaled 93 million rubles as against 61 million in 1981; in other words, they showed a 50 percent increase over the 5-year period. Virtually all rayon farms have become profitable, averaging 13 million rubles' worth of profit in the final year of the 5-year plan. In 1980 there was no question of any profit, for farm losses at that time totaled 3.4 million rubles. Naturally, we do not intend to stop there. The rayon has quite significant internal reserves.

At every step life proves to us that however perfect equipment may be and however modern the technology, they are useless without skillful and caring work. The rayon's agriculture employs today 1,390 specialists, 1,148 of whom with higher and secondary specialized training. As a rule, all farm managers have higher training and some of them are candidates of sciences; 84.7 percent of the chief specialists are with higher training. Until recently, many of them were at work in scientific institutions in the rayon, cooperating with the coordinating council in promoting accelerated scientific and technical progress. Dozens of examples prove the more efficient utilization of the achievements of science and progressive experience by people who combine contemporary with professional skill. At the Dzhandarskiy livestock breeding complex, for the first time in the republic, cattle have been cross-bred and hybrids have been developed which can reach a weight of 500 kilograms in 18 months, which is roughly 45 percent higher than other breeds of cattle raised in the rayon.

During the 12th 5-Year Plan the rayon party organization firmly intends comprehensively to strengthen the practical and moral authority of farm managers and enhance their role in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. We have realized that this approach is fully justified. Farming standards and animal husbandry are steadily improving and end results of production activities increasing in labor collectives headed by educated, energetic and independently thinking economic managers.

However cadre selection and placement is insufficient. One must be concerned with their upbringing as well. The good example of politically mature people, constantly seeking and unafraid of taking justified risks if necessary is irreplaceable shaping a modern manager. Acceleration is a process which requires daring multiplied by competence. In order to develop such qualities within every worker, today we are planning, among others, to broaden the practice of assigning rayon managers and specialists to the best farms in the country where they can closely study progressive experience on-site. We ascribe prime importance to the practical results of such assignments. Based on the example of the farms in Volgograd Oblast, all rayon sovkhoses extensively cultivated the highly productive "Lebyazhinskiy" tomato. This increased the rayon's tomato production by one-third. In order to disseminate efficient work methods, we shall be using the permanent course for the party



and economic aktivs, set up by the party raykom, and the party training and economic education systems.

The practical discussion of problems which arise in the course of the implementation of the Food Program and of the regional program for the application of scientific achievements and progressive experience takes place at the plenums and meetings of the party raykom buro. At such meetings farm and agroindustrial association managers and specialists and primary party organization secretaries regularly report on their activities. Recently, for example, M. Kakauridze, primary party organization secretary at the Noriysk poultry farm, submitted a report to the buro. The buro members made a number of specific remarks concerning his work. As a whole, however, we noted with satisfaction that both specialists and party members had properly understood the objectives confronting the collective and accurately seen the basic components of scientific and technical progress.

Both our own experience and that of others convincingly proves that today problems of perfecting the management structure of the agrocomplex require closest possible attention. For example, after a special service--department for the practical utilization of the achievement of science and progressive experience--was organized by the RAPO, application became more systematic and purposeful. The department ensures the implementation of all resolutions of the party raykom buro, the RAPO council and the rayon application coordination council in the local areas. Under its supervision all corresponding measures are now included in the production and financial plans of the farms and farm and department managers are responsible for their implementation as they are for the fulfillment of the basic plan indicators. In order to increase the interest of scientific establishments and individual scientists in the result of the practical application of their developments, we began to offer material incentives based on the share partnership principle. The main criterion in assessing one scientific idea or engineering development or another is the end results of their practical utilization in agriculture.

Currently scientific and technical progress has entered a new development stage in the rayon. This means, above all, the increased scale of utilization of economic-mathematical methods in farming. For example, a mathematical method for the optimal location of agricultural production facilities was created, based on rayon land registration data, available manpower and other objective indicators. Computer calculations provide managers on all levels with scientific data of the economic possibilities of the rayon, individual farm and sector within the agroindustrial complex. It is on the basis of such data that currently the Food Program is being refined for the period of the 12th 5-Year Plan. Furthermore, we are completing the development of a set of measures aimed at streamlining vegetable and milk supplies to Tbilisi and Rustavi, with the help of ASU. A standard ASU-RAPO plan is being formulated. Modern science, progressive equipment and technology and advanced labor and production organization methods, closely related to practical work, offer the latter new possibilities which, only a few years ago, appeared unrealistic.

A management center has been set up at the rayon agroindustrial association. This center, which is equipped with modern technical facilities, consists of two subdivisions: department of intersectorial relations and long-term

formulation of standards, and current management department. One of the vital concerns if the party raykom is to help its collective fully to develop the potential of this new RAPO unit.

Any participant in the work of the 27th Congress, cannot fail to consider the future, the many more serious problems awaiting their fastest possible practical solution. The repeatedly criticized yet still extant system of planning "on the basis of achievements" continues to hinder the initiative of labor collectives. The majority of scientific and engineering design establishments and organizations, whose services we constantly use, operate, as one can easily understand, outside the confines of the Gardabanskiy RAPO. Meanwhile, to this day the RAPO is deprived of the opportunity to influence their work to any major extent. The plans continue to include obsolete technologies which, among others, hinders further progress in animal husbandry. Conversion to industrial technology on a broad scale in the cultivation and harvesting of a number of farm crops is greatly hindered by the shortage of proper equipment and necessary chemicals.

To this day the party raykom is asked to solve purely economic problems related to the application of scientific achievements, for our economic mechanism is still poorly directed toward the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Under these circumstances, in the course of daily practical activities, it is not always possible clearly to separate the functions of party from those of economic bodies and to avoid substitution. Until recently party committees had to display tremendous efforts to surmount departmental lack of coordination, which hindered the work. Following the creation of the Gosagroprom, we have the right to expect the fastest possible change for the better in the planning and management of agricultural production. The radical reconstruction of the economic mechanism will unquestionably enable the party committees to deal with their direct obligations and concentrate on work with people and on the comprehensive energizing of the human factor.

It is precisely this approach that is demanded of us by the strategic resolutions of the 27th Leninist Party Congress.

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## QUALITY TEST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 66-70

[Article by V. Yurin, first secretary of the Perm Oblast Lysvenskiy CPSU Gorkom]

[Text] Problems of upgrading the quality of output assumed a special place among the other party congress materials included in the CPSU Central Committee political report, being among the most important and complex problems in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. It was pointed out that the national economy has reached a level at which no single major production and social problem can be resolved without radical quality improvements. Understandably, each one of us, delegates to the congress, involved one way or another in material production, compared the planned levels with his personal experience and the specific situation in his work sector. What now makes noteworthy the activities of party organizations and labor collectives in our city in the most important national economic area, such as production quality? What, above all, must be done here?

In the second half of the previous 5-year period the industrial enterprises in Lysva eliminated the lag which had developed during the first years and achieved high growth rates of output. As a result, the city fulfilled its 5-year industrial plan ahead of schedule and the entire increase in volume was the result of intensive factors. Some of the positive changes consistent with current requirements are: more than 1,000 units of modern equipment, and 36 assembly and mechanized lines were installed in the shops of plants and factories and about 90 progressive technological processes were mastered. As a result, during the 11th 5-year plan labor productivity in industry increased by 22 percent.

Nevertheless, not all rates of technical retooling, justifiably considered the base for upgrading production quality, can be considered adequate. More than 40 percent of the equipment used is morally and physically obsolete. A number of new capacities are being mastered quite slowly, particularly in terms of quality work indicators. These and other factors largely led to the fact that the share of items certified as being of superior quality accounts in our city for no more than 16.5 percent which, unquestionably, is very low. Naturally, we cannot be satisfied with this state of affairs affecting the quality of output. Achieved successes do not count, as the saying goes. Let me cite the following example:

The turbogenerator plant mastered the production of a series of big power machines, mainly for the country's fuel and energy complex. They were given a high rating and a group of specialists at the enterprise were awarded the USSR State Prize. Some satisfaction could have been derived from this. However, looking at this success from the viewpoint of contemporary requirements, we will see that against the background of unused reserves the results which were obtained are quite modest. The synchronous turbines, STD series, for the development of which the personnel of the plant received the award, were essentially developed 15 years ago and no basic changes have been made in their design since then. All indications are that the enterprise's management and party committee are entirely satisfied with the situation, for which reason they are in no great hurry to energize their search for radically new designs and technologies.

It is precisely this type of half-way measures and inconsistency in the struggle for high production quality that we must overcome as we reorganize our economic management. Today we are relying a great deal on the steps formulated and the party congress in the area of perfecting the economic mechanism and more systematically applying cost accounting principles in enterprise and association activities. However, the on-site party organizations, which deal directly with the people--the decisive factor of all planned changes--could and should do a great deal as well.

We believe that a good foundation for such work was laid in the course of the implementation of the comprehensive target programs for intensifying the city's economy. The city party committee is in charge of implementing such programs. It is no accident that the main program is titled "Quality." We consider that our basic task is not only to supervise the observance of deadlines for the introduction of various technical and organizational measures. The main thing is to make the program's targets known to the collectives of shops and sectors and to worker brigades, systematically to analyze positive work experience, familiarize everyone with it and efficiently correct shortcomings. Some new developments have taken place in this area and we hope to make full use of them during the 12th 5-Year Plan. Such are, for instance, the shift-counter meetings at the metallurgical plant, which provide good support to the collective in mastering essential new developments, such as chromium-plated tin and electrozinc-plated steel with polymer coating.

What is the essence of such meetings? When shifts change, a specific 20-minute discussion is held on the quality of the work of the new shift. As a rule, the meeting is presided over by the chairman of the shift council, who is one of the most conscientious and experienced brigade leaders. Here there is no time for protracted speeches and general appeals. Waste-makers and slipshod workers are thoroughly criticized. Members of the administration and of engineering and technical services attending the meeting must take efficient steps based on the specific remarks of the workers. We intend to disseminate this experience of the metallurgical workers more widely and energetically wherever the work is done in shifts. Furthermore, the party gorkom must intensify traditional ways and means of work and look for and find new ones which can energize the best aspirations of the people.

In this case the choice of a target, which can truly mobilize the collective, is very important. Naturally, the solution of major production problems is dictated by the innovative stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress and are included in the state plans, making this objectively necessary. However, as practical experience indicates, it is always possible additionally to concretize locally this solution and to consolidate targets, thus ensuring their implementation by harnessing internal reserves. It is equally possible, using various pretexts, to lower the urgency of a task and channel a major project into the stream of "gradualness" and petty and isolated improvements. Today such an approach, if one may call it such, to the reconstruction of our economy and to upgrading production quality must be totally eliminated. The party committees must become the guarantors of surmounting an unsuitable work style dictated by the sluggish force of inertia.

For example, specialists and workers at the metallurgical plant are ready to develop a technology for the production of steel sheets with a special anticorrosion coating, a material which is impatiently awaited by the automobile industry. A machine tool perfectly suitable for this job is available. The difficulty is that the parameters of the unit are inadequate for producing sheets with the necessary width. It becomes necessary to wait for the respective design organizations of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy to submit the necessary blueprints for the reconstruction of the mill. But we do not intend to wait. The gorkom intends to appeal to the ministry's party committee maximally to accelerate equipment updating. It would be desirable to assign a brigade of specialists directly to the plant. If they succeed (which they unquestionably will) it will become possible not only to increase the output of high-quality goods but also to strengthen the active, the creative mood of the metallurgical collective.

We must point out that contemporary assignments increasingly force the party committees to operate on an intersectorial level, going beyond the confines of ordinary concerns. For example, the development of new methods for petroleum extraction and the transportation of natural gas along the main pipelines demanded of the collective of the turbogenerator plant this very year to undertake the production of the necessary electric power equipment. However, some scientific organizations and enterprises of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, participating in the development and complementing such equipment, do not hesitate to postpone cooperation in such projects indefinitely, citing the difficulty of the problems. We do not intend to tolerate this. In such cases as well we will mandatorily turn to the ministry's party committee with suitable suggestions. We are currently considering the possibility of organizing the work among related enterprises based on the "labor relay-race" principle, with standard assessment criteria and a system of moral and material incentives identical for all participants.

The political meaning of the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and their tremendous moral charge call upon the party members and all working people decisively to surmount stereotypes in thinking and acting and to seek work methods which would ensure great acceleration of development and drastic improvements in all quality indicators. More than ever before today all of us must be loyal to Lenin's behest: Solve the new problems through new methods.



For example, currently we have some 3,000 workers working in obsolete metallurgical shops which need radical reconstruction. Let us assume that in contracting construction organizations undertake to update production facilities in each subdivision. The first thing that will become clear will be that their possibilities are obviously inadequate for the purpose. Furthermore, what will the metallurgical workers be doing while the reconstruction is taking place? How to preserve the formal and informal structure of the collective and its traditions under such circumstances? Obviously, major material and moral losses would be inevitable. The CPSU gorkom decided to support the interesting idea of assigning most construction and installation work to the production collectives themselves. During the party congress we discussed this idea with S.V. Kolpov, minister of ferrous metallurgy, and agreed on the subject of interaction. Naturally, many of the existing rules and standards will have to be reviewed. The expected benefit, however, promises to be quite substantial. It is noteworthy that in the collectives of metallurgical workers the suggestion of temporarily halting the production of obsolete items and channeling all efforts on radical reconstruction and technical retooling is meeting with sincere support.

Under contemporary conditions, it would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the progressive scientific thinking and daring creative initiatives of engineering and technical personnel. In this connection, we believe, the party organizations as well should have their say in the efforts to strengthen design bureaus, laboratories and experimental sections. As a rule, scientists and engineers working in such institutions are firmly linked with production work, acutely feel its requirements and are able to turn an idea into a finished product rapidly and on a good technological level. However, a number of factors which hinder the active work of the enterprise "brain centers" must be neutralized. They include somewhat hastily weighed ministerial decisions, and the still extant aspiration of the administrations of some plants to pursue temporary advantages by burdening experimental facilities with work on current production problems. Yet the possibilities of plant science are exceptionally great. Here is one example among many: development engineers at the metallurgical plant completed the installation and tune-up of a machine unit producing chrome-plated tin by 10 pm and immediately delivered it to the production workers. By 3 am the first sheets of the plant output came out of the machine unit, and 5 hours later the machine was producing at standard efficiency. By the old standards that same operation could have taken between several days and, had complications arisen, several weeks.

These days the party organizations, concerned with the reputation of industry of their city, are assuming strict supervision over the most vulnerable production sectors from the viewpoint of possible breakdowns, and try to react more sharply and principle-mindedly to critical remarks concerning the quality of output. I recall a recent party meeting at the low-voltage equipment shop of the turbogenerators plant. The shop's collective had been considered frontranking for quite sometime, for the results of its work were rated primarily in terms of quantitative indicators. A close look at the way technology and state standard requirements were being observed here revealed that some electrical installation workers were simply unfamiliar with them. The party members sharply criticized the shop and plant managements for such

careless attitude toward production technology. Electrician P.S. Tyulkin, the party organization's secretary, demanded of the administration to take immediate measures to correct the situation, organize the training of the workers and intensify control over production quality by engineering and technical personnel. Today the situation in the shop has improved.

Yes, practical experience comprehensively shows that the primary party organizations can and must play a most serious role in resolving the difficult problems of accelerating socioeconomic development, in which upgrading production quality holds a leading position. The acceleration strategy demands a decisive restructuring in the work of CPSU gorkom departments and the intensification of their organizing and political role. The party workers must be systematically freed from extraneous functions. Maximal efforts and attention must be focused on cadre selection, placement and upbringing.

In my view, we should also think of possible changes in the structure of the city party committee. The committee could consist of four departments: organizational, propaganda and agitation, general and economic, which would assume the entire work now dispersed among sectorial departments. Unquestionably, such a reorganization would enable us to avoid duplication in the work of planning and economic bodies and concentrate the efforts of enterprises in various sectors on resolving long-term problems, including intersectorial ones.

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## THE WRITER'S PLACE IN THE WORK OF THE NATION

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[Article by Georgiy Markov, first secretary of the Board of the USSR Writers' Union]

[Text] A meeting between Soviet and foreign journalists with men of culture, delegates to the communist forum, took place during the 27th CPSU Congress. I was one of the participants. Some strange questions were included among the interesting and practical ones we were asked, indicating the poor understanding which the West has of the role of the creative intelligentsia in Soviet society, writers in particular. It was such a lack of understanding that clearly reflected the essential differences between the social functions of literature and art under capitalism and under socialist conditions.

A Western journalist asked whether we intended to approve of ideological works only and reject purely emotional ones. Obviously, by ideological he meant party-oriented as against emotional. From our viewpoint, to say the least it would be naive to create an unbridgeable gap between idea- and party-mindedness, on the one hand, and emotionalism, on the other. The purpose of literature is emotionally to assert the lofty ideals of peace and construction, to serve economic, social and moral progress, to meet the basic interests of the working people and to contribute to the growth of the material well-being and cultural standards of the people. These, however, are also precisely Communist Party tasks.

It is no accident that Western art experts try to separate emotionalism from idea-mindedness or, more specifically, to conceal under more pleasant colors the true objectives of bourgeois "mass culture" so that the people would not begin to think about the type of ideas served by emotions in bourgeois art. The programmatic lack of ideas takes man to the world of pure emotions, some of which are among the basest and most inhuman, stupefy the mind with pornography or racism, develop a particular aesthetics of commercialism and personal well-being and enhance anti-Soviet hysteria. These are, precisely, bourgeois party tasks.

The objective of socialist culture is to promote the spiritual advancement of the individual, assert a scientific outlook and strengthen the moral health of society. The history of the land of the soviets offers numerous examples of

the talented implementation of this mission. We have a model to emulate. We have people from whom to learn high mastery, dedicated service to public interests and profound artistic analysis of real problems and contradictions.

However, history is not only a teacher but a strict judge. From the podium of the 27th Congress the men of culture were sharply criticized by K. Petrov, a veteran of the Stakhanov movement. The generation of prewar shock workers was making demands on the contemporary creative intelligentsia. It was from the same podium that, on behalf of today's working people, we were criticized by N. Gellert, a tractor driver from Kazakhstan.

The CPSU Central Committee political report delivered by M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that literature, in reflecting the birth of the new world, also actively participated in its organization and in molding the man of the new world--the patriot and true internationalist. It therefore accurately knows its place and role in the work of the nation. However, this is also a criterion on the basis of which the people and the party assess the work of writers and painters and literature and Soviet art themselves approach their own tasks.

Today the party and civic duty of every artist is to implement in the nationwide cause what was said at the congress about the place and role of literature.

The criticism which was addressed to us was unquestionably just. We find literary works unrelated to our complex and dynamic contemporary life. Naturally, the creative baggage of the literary worker depends above all on himself, on his experience and educational and cultural standards. However, this strictly individual area also includes a social interest, for the acquired baggage determines, as the economists say, the quality of the end literary product--the work of art--and its consistency with the needs of society.

The creative associations are the spokesman for this social interest in our country. They play a great role not only in the life of every artist but in the development of society as a whole. It is no accident that the new draft of the CPSU program stipulates that, on the basis of the creative associations, the party has always struggled and will continue to struggle against manifestations of lack of ideas and conceptual omnivorousness, and aesthetic dullness. The creative associations must contribute to the implementation of the party's main line in the field of literature and art: strengthening ties with the life of the people, truthfully depicting socialist reality on a highly artistic level, describing with inspiration and in vivid colors what is new and progressive and passionately exposing anything which hinders social progress.

The need for change in the activities of the creative associations was emphasized at the congress. Our accomplishments so far are obviously insufficient. The Writers' Union has organized a number of meetings between its members and working people in town and country and given creative assignments to literary workers. However, can one truly become familiar with real life problems at readership conferences which, furthermore, are sometimes

simply ceremonial? Is it possible to gather materials for a good and honest novel in the course of 1 or 2 months of a writing assignment?

There are no prescriptions for success in art. Historical parallels, however, even the most bitter ones, are very instructive. Remember the unparalleled upsurge in Soviet literature and art during the last war. Naturally, the very circumstances, the powerful influx of patriotic forces and the maximal stress of the entire forces of the people created a field for enhanced creative tension in writers and painters. But there was something else as well: 953 writers went to the front. The way in which they gathered materials for their essays, stories and novels is clearly confirmed by the fact that 417 of them fell on the battlefield.

The eternal credo of true literature is to live the life of the people, to know their joys and concerns as one's own. This is particularly relevant today. The sharp changes taking place in all realms of life in contemporary Soviet society demand high level mobilization of forces and capabilities of one and all for the implementation of the party's tasks. These changes have triggered an upsurge in the enthusiasm and creative activeness of the toiling masses and shaped a true need for the artistic interpretation of events and once again created a field of higher stress in Soviet culture.

The implementation of the party's programmatic objectives and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development demand the spiritual progress of Soviet society and the enhancement of the cultural standards of the entire people. This means that the importance of culture, in the broadest possible meaning of the term, will increase and so will its impact on the minds and hearts of the people and on developing a feeling for the new, the mentality of the innovator.

The delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress included 38 writers. This is not only an indication of the party's recognition of the high role of our literary workers in social life but also a confirmation of the expectations and exigency addressed to literature during the period of accelerated socioeconomic development of the country.

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## LESSONS OF TRUTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 72-75

[Article by Mikhail Ulyanov, people's artist of the USSR]

[Text] The supreme party body has provided so much food for thought that every person, whatever his profession, will find in it something quite important and essential in terms of energizing his activities. The congress did a tremendous amount of collective work to develop a methodology of realism and an analytical approach to the solution of specific problems.

This was the tenor of the CPSU Central Committee political report delivered by M.S. Gorbachev. It not only enumerated difficulties and shortcomings (with which we were quite familiar) but, above all, it earmarked the ways and means of their elimination in a decisive and unconditional manner. It is no accident that the entire report was imbued with the alternative tonality in the formulation of questions and, therefore, the specific method for their solution.

"We shall be unable to achieve our plans unless..." "our plans will be left hanging in the air unless..." sounds like a refrain. Hiding behind this "unless" are the most important problems of our time, which we have no right to leave unsolved and for the solution of which the ways and means have been clearly defined. This involves above all a real and rather drastic restructuring of our mentality and views on life.

This is a difficult process which cannot be completed in a single day and, in the case of some people, even a single year. We hear from various rostrums, including very high ones, speeches still delivered in the old tonality. The words may be new and the problems they tackle may seem relevant but the meaning behind them is the old one. We realize how meaningless they are when we listen to such general statements today, which have nothing specific to support them.

Alas, we hear such statements from the theater stage as well. I may be excessively prejudiced concerning my work but, it seems to me, the translation of meaningless slogans into the language of playwriting greatly intensifies their negative, their corrupting influence. The lesson of truth, which M.S. Gorbachev mentioned in his report, is quite bitter and quite indicative in the

case of the theatre world as well.

The actor who perceives a true rather than fictitious problem, becomes a coparticipant in life, a desired interlocutor of the audience. The people trust him, for they realize that they are talking with an honest person. When we are tricked or when the truth is deliberately concealed from us we feel doubly deceived. What is the purpose of this? Everything is quite simple: if the actor begins to present as the truth something which does not correspond to reality he loses the trust of the audience, for he then behaves dishonestly and, therefore, immorally.

The CPSU Central Committee political report states quite accurately that "the moral health of society, the spiritual climate in which a people live, is largely determined by the state of literature and the arts." Not even the loftiest but abstract morality can coexist with even the slightest but specific untruth.

Eighteen years ago V. Shukshin wrote the still topical article "Morality Means Truth." To prove its relevance let me cite a small excerpt from this old article: "I am not a politician and could easily become confused in complex issues. However, as a rank-and-file member of the Communist Party of the USSR, I believe that I belong to a party which is active and just; as an artist I cannot deceive my people by describing life only as happy, for example. Truth may be bitter as well. If I conceal it, if I claim that everything is well and beautiful, in the final account I would mislead my own party... Morality means truth. Not simply truth but Truth. For it means courage, honesty, living with the joys and pains of the people and thinking the way the people think, for the people always know the Truth."

Like our entire ideological work, art greatly suffered from the disparity between words and actions. If I proclaim from the stage or the screen that I intend to speak about life seriously, that is precisely what I must do and, together with the audience, seek answers to the painful problems of the economy, morality, etc. Unfortunately, in a number of shows we appeared to engage in a serious conversation but then to abandon it, replacing it with something digestible, easily understood but which failed to touch, to concern, to worry the audience.

I am convinced that in our type of work fear of making the audience concerned is equally immoral. The audience must not be frightened, it could even be amused, one could joke with it and perform acts of vaudeville. However, if we undertake to speak of something serious in a show or motion picture, naturally, this calls for a serious discussion in a clear and harsh language, uncompromisingly. Yet, as time passed, we learned to consider problems only optimistically, inventing heroes with sufficiently outstanding features, and these skillfully woven curtains concealed from us the sharp contradictions of life. Could it be that the reason for which our people stopped going to see serious motion pictures is that we provided in them poor answers to topical problems?

The question of publicity was extensively and sharply raised at the congress. This directly applies to art as well. Frank judgments of existing problems, regardless of their sadness is the civic duty of the playwright and the actor.

If the theatre is a magnifying lens or even a mirror it must reflect what actually exists rather than depict something beautiful and suitable and, subsequently, reflect this as though it were true life.

Other prescriptions existed as well. Some motion pictures depicted a fictitious but very desirable country life. Naturally, the viewers did not believe such works and at best considered them a beautiful dream, an ideal to which one should aspire rather than something close and precious to us. I was lucky to participate in a good civic "diversion" in the camp of this fictitious rural well-being. The incident occurred more than 20 years ago. I have in mind the film "The Chairman" and, in particular, the role of Trubnikov, the main character. I remember the way the audiences rushed to see this very serious motion picture. It was not a question of my part or whether or not I had performed well but the fact that Yu. Nagibin had created a character and pointed out the difficulties which existed at that time in our rural reality, sharply raising the questions which the people asked or, at least, speaking of the type of life with which they were familiar. This too was a lesson in truth which was, alas, soon forgotten.

Truth is both our fate as actors and our happiness as such. If real life is shown in a motion picture or on the stage, if difficulties are not timidly avoided, the actor has something to perform. No one can become a great actor without truth. Komissarzhevskaya and Strepetova brought to the people the truth of their time; Boris Shchukin brought the truth of the 1930s and they have entered the history of domestic art. Naturally, this does not apply to the theatre alone. Tvardovskiy is what he is precisely because he did not conceive of his work without truth; Shukshin is Shukshin precisely because he told the truth; Abramov is Abramov because he did not adapt himself to the time but tried to understand it. Adapting or being the spokesman for one's time are essentially different things.

Another aspect of our squabbling, about which I was told repeatedly, is the following: why, for example, does a frontranker earn virtually the same salary as the loafer. The first produces ten annual norms every year whereas the second barely drags himself; yet both can spend time in a sanatorium in the best part of the season. It is being said that everyone in our country is equal and that no one should be insulted. Such "humanism," however, turns into a monstrous connivance with loafers and is an insult to people who work with dedication. The result is similar to the work of a horse troika: only one of the horses is pulling while the others, although equally harnessed, only pretend.

A similar situation prevails in art. However, could art lead a normal life without an honest evaluation of its assessments? In our area as well equalization, leveling, are fatal. What actually happens is the following: reviewers treat all actors the same, regardless of differences. As a rule, they are moderate in their praise and criticism. A certain mean temperature has developed in criticism, in which one can catch neither a cold nor a sunburn. It is impossible to understand who performed well, who was average, who was striking and who was horrible. The viewer becomes confused in such a monotonous ratings. "...Criticism is a social affair rather than a service to the author's pride and ambition." These words in the political report were

received with applause. It was well said and bluntly put! The trouble, however, is not exclusively with the reviewers. Their situation too is inevitable: do not insult this one, do not speak of that, leave that theatre alone. Quite a large group of "untouchable" artists has developed.

In Italy, for example, any zealous scribe could write that "Fellini is dead as an artist!" without blinking an eye. Naturally, this is extremely impudent and, above all, untrue. What does Fellini do in such a case? He makes his next film in such a way as to shut the mouth of any spiteful critic. In our country, should one write politely yet firmly that Ivanov (or Sidorov) did not prove his skill as an artist in his latest work, the artist runs with the complaint to the highest officials and does not resume work until he has received proper "satisfaction" in another publication (publications); we have more than enough soft-hearted people. Some authority will always be found to say that criticism must be well-wishing, forgetting that well-wishingness does not mean ignoring objectivity or basic honesty.

Let this not be understood as though I am appealing for cruelty or some kind of critical annihilation of any ordinary artistic failure. I am appealing for calling things by their proper name rather than blending them within a universal concept. To an even lesser extent would I like to be thought of as being pessimistic, which is certainly not the case. The theatre, which is the type of art closest to me, was the first to respond to topical problems and the first to take quite a big step in the direction of the vital concerns of the present. Let us remember "Silver Wedding" at the MKhAT, "The Last Visitor" at the Tovstonogov in Leningrad, "Talk..." at the Yermolov, "From the News of the Day" at the Maly and some others.

Naturally, we have not understood everything completely. We are merely at the beginning of the way. I am convinced, however, that this is the right way. The theatre is merely a drop in the sea. This drop reflects the sun, the clouds, storms and the color of the sea from which it comes. Therefore, no, I am not a pessimist but simply a realist and the congress in which I was lucky to participate I would describe as a congress of socialist realism.

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## UNDER THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM: GUESTS OF THE CONGRESS SPEAK

### AN INSPIRING PROGRAM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 76-77

[Article by Gyorgy Lazar, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers chairman]

[Text] The Soviet Union is the first and most powerful socialist state in the world, the flag-bearer of social progress, a reliable bulwark in the struggle of the peoples for freedom and the main guardian of peace on earth. It is natural, therefore, that under the present difficult circumstances, the 27th CPSU Congress was awaited with heightened interest. The international public was excitedly waiting for the answers it would provide to the major problems of our time.

To me, as someone who had the honor to be a member of the Hungarian delegation to the congress and, I believe, to its other participants, the political report of the CPSU Central Committee, submitted by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, made a most profound impression. It was fully supported in the various speeches of the delegates. It was rich in ideas, and gave clear and specific answers to all most important problems of our age.

The profound analysis of historical processes contained in the report exposed the true face of contemporary capitalism and its insoluble contradictions; it proved convincingly and substantiatedly that the future belongs to socialism. This document reflects the tremendous successes achieved by the Soviet system over the past 10 years. At the same time it provides a frank and plain criticism of the obstacles on the way to progress. It presents an inspiring program for building socialism.

As to international problems, the CPSU Central Committee political report leaves no doubt that, together with the other members of the socialist community and all peace-loving forces on earth, the Soviet Union will continue tirelessly and consistently to struggle for the prevention of nuclear war which threatens the very existence of mankind.

These are answers which fill with hope everyone whose heart is dedicated to the cause of socialism, peace and progress. We can say with full justification that the 27th CPSU Congress will be remembered in history as a congress which offered new prospects for the creative application of Marxism-



## Leninism.

The situation in Hungary was thoroughly analyzed last spring, at the 13th MSZMP Congress, which called for making Hungary's socioeconomic development more dynamic, upgrading labor productivity and production quality and systematically implementing the ideals and the moral standards of socialism through the fuller utilization of the tremendous possibilities concealed within the socialist society and the extensive release of the creative energy of the masses.

That is why the parts in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress which speak of accelerating the development of the national economy and scientific and technical progress, perfecting planning and management, upgrading the autonomy and responsibility of economic organizations and material incentive, indicating ways for the further development of socialist democracy and improving the efficiency of ideological and educational work, drew our particular attention.

The stipulations contained in the Central Committee political report and the congress' documents on strengthening the unity of the socialist community and the prospects for the development of fruitful cooperation within CEMA, are of equal importance to us. The tasks formulated in accordance with these problems, as Comrade Janos Kadar pointed out in speech at the congress, are entirely consistent with our national interests and we shall dedicate all our forces to supporting their implementation.

In conclusion, I seize this opportunity to wish once again to our Soviet friends great successes in the implementation of the historical resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

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## WE GREET THE CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 77-78

[Article by Kang Song-san, Korean Labor Party Central Committee Politburo member and premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Administrative Council]

[Text] We, members of the Korean Labor Party, were very happy to participate in the work of the 27th CPSU Congress. The congress was held during a noteworthy period in party history, a period when the country had entered the new and crucial stage of development. Today, headed by the new leadership, the CPSU is ideologically and organizationally stronger than ever before and its leading role has increased. As a result of strengthened discipline in all areas of governmental and social life, the development of an energetic struggle for increased production efficiency in labor productivity, the political and economic power of the Soviet Union is strengthening. By participating in the work of the congress, we were able to feel even better the enhanced atmosphere prevailing in the USSR. The outstanding CPSU Central Committee political report, presented by M.S. Gorbachev, party Central Committee general secretary, and the other most important documents submitted for consideration at the congress, comprehensively discussed the main political concepts, economic strategy and the peace program for the period until the year 2000. We are confident that the 27th CPSU Congress will not only open bright prospects for the party and the people but will also make a major contribution to strengthening socialism, to the development of the global communist and worker movements and to the struggle waged by progressive forces throughout the world for nuclear disarmament and for ensuring peace and security on the planet.

The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress inspire the Korean people who are building socialism and struggling for the peaceful unification of the country under the difficult conditions of opposing American imperialism. That is why we are pleased by the achievements of the Soviet Union as though they were our own. I wish the Soviet communists and all Soviet people with all my heart great successes in the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th Congress.

Relations of friendship between our countries, parties and peoples are developing and strengthening today as never before. These relations were developed further after the historical visit which Kim Il-song, president of

the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and Korean Labor Party Central Committee general secretary, paid to the Soviet Union in May 1984. There have been more frequent exchanges of mostly higher-level delegations. Relations of friendship between our parties and peoples have strengthened even further. Strengthening unity and cohesion among socialist countries and between the KPDR and the Soviet Union is the source of our strength, for which reason we shall continue to develop our fraternal relations.

Allow me to discuss in somewhat greater detail the situation on the Korean Peninsula and in Asia. The Asian-Pacific Ocean area is becoming a place of acute anti-imperialist struggle. The United States ascribes major strategic significance to the Korean Peninsula, in its effort to establish military and political domination in the Asian-Pacific Ocean basin. That is why it is doing everything possible to strengthen the division of our country while, at the same time, turning South Korea into its military bridgehead and nuclear base. Japan is being militarized and a military alliance among the United States, Japan and South Korea is being hammered out. All of this threatens peace and security in the Korean Peninsula, in Asia and throughout the world. With a view to creating favorable circumstances for peace on the Korean Peninsula and for the peaceful unification of the country, our party formulated the proposal of making the Korean Peninsula a nuclear-free zone. The Korean Labor Party called for holding trilateral talks among the KPDR, the United States and representatives of the South Korean regime. However, the United States and the South Korean rulers not only failed to respond to our suggestions but, having rejected our demands of halting military exercises in order to create favorable circumstances for talks between North and South, initiated large-scale military maneuvers in South Korea, code-named "Team Spirit-86," with simulated use of nuclear weapons. These provocative steps are aimed against our republic and put the situation on the Korean Peninsula on the brink of war. In a word, the situation here is quite tense. It is as follows: as a result of the aggressive intrigues of American imperialism, a new war could break out at any time.

I take this opportunity to express to the fraternal Soviet people, the socialist countries and all peoples of the world our profound gratitude for the exposure and condemnation of the new military intrigues of the United States and the South Korean regime and the active support given to our struggle for peace and for the peaceful unification of the country. We are confident that the USSR will continue to support us and to express its solidarity with the Korean people in their just struggle. We are well aware of the fact that the CPSU and the Soviet government are paying tireless attention to safeguarding security in Asia.

The peaceful suggestions formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress inspire our people, who are defending the Eastern Front of socialism. That is why we support entirely and fully the bold foreign policy initiatives contained in M.S. Gorbachev's report to the 27th CPSU Congress.

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## THE CONGRESS AIMED AT THE FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 79-82

[Article by Babrak Karmal, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee general secretary, Chairman of the Democratic Republic of the Afghan Revolutionary Council]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress has become an important historical event and a turning point in the domestic life of the Soviet Union and in the international arena. This has confirmed yet once again the truly Leninist nature of the party of Soviet communists.

The CPSU Central Committee political report submitted to the congress by M.S. Gorbachev, Central Committee general secretary, offers a profound analysis of the main aspects of the contemporary situation in the world, the basic international processes and contradictions and the objectives and main trends of the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU. As to domestic policy, the report offers a scientific, creative and comprehensive strategy for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and its basic trends under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, and the general trends of political development, with a view to the further democratization of Soviet society, intensification of the process of people's socialist self-management, and problems of party life and organizational and ideological party work. New tremendous historical tasks were formulated in all these areas, with revolutionary farsightedness, in a Leninist critical manner and in accordance with the further energizing of labor activities. We are confident that the CPSU and the great Soviet people will implement everything as planned.

The new draft of the CPSU program, which defines the long-term economic and political strategy of the party and problems of perfecting intraparty life and work style and methods, is a document of tremendous importance and an example for revolutionaries the world over.

Both documents make a new contribution to the great treasury of the truly scientific revolutionary theory of social development and are not only programs of action but also valuable theoretical documents. The close and comprehensive study of these documents, which play the role of a beacon, and their fundamental conclusions and earmarked means of creative implementation

will, unquestionably, be of tremendous help to revolutionary and worker parties and to democratic and progressive movements the world over.

From the first to the last day of the congress, its activities proved to mankind the energy, passion and profound understanding of responsibility for the fate of mankind and human civilization with which the CPSU and its leadership are implementing their constructive policy of peace the world over, a policy of preventing the arms race on earth and in space and, in the final account, of total disarmament. The congress convincingly proved that the CPSU remains loyal to this the only possible alternative in the preservation of mankind itself. In the course of its proceedings, the open and noble Leninist nature of CPSU foreign political strategy was manifested once again. Under contemporary conditions, when the forces of war are trying to aggravate international tension and intensify the arms race, the peaceful foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union are of vital importance. As was pointed out in the political report, the present nuclear confrontation demands new approaches and means and ways of maintaining relations among different social systems, states and regions. The reality is such that the objective situation allows a confrontation between capitalism and socialism only in the nature of peaceful coexistence and rivalry.

We entirely support the conclusion contained in the Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress to the effect that "the arms race unleashed by imperialism has led to the fact that the 20th century is ending in global politics under the sign of the following question: will mankind be able to avoid the nuclear threat or will the policy of confrontation, leading to increasing the likelihood of a nuclear conflict, gain the upper hand.... However, the complexity and gravity of the historical moment has increased the urgency of declaring nuclear weapons illegal and totally eliminating them along with other means of mass destruction of people and improving international relations."

The 15 January 1986 declaration by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev contains an expanded practical program for the total elimination of mass destruction weapons by the end of this century. The implementation of this program will bring about radical changes in the world situation, ensure identical security for all countries, release tremendous material resources which can be used for the sake of progress and happiness of man and allow the harnessing of all efforts of mankind for creative construction for the good of all nations.

As the declaration and the political report justifiably notes, the approach to disarmament must be comprehensive, for everything related to security problems is interconnected. M.S. Gorbachev's statement that the USSR considers this program "the main trend of its foreign policy for the years to come," instills happiness in the hearts of all peace-loving forces on earth. They set great hope by it, believing that the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress will constitute a firm answer to the efforts of imperialist forces to start a war.

We express our full solidarity with the principle-minded position of the Soviet Union, which states that the nature of modern weapons leaves to no country the hope of protecting itself through military-technical means alone,



that the question of ensuring security is political in nature to a much greater extent and should be resolved through political means, and the fact that security must be mutual. We are also deeply convinced that the main motive force of militarism is the United States and its military-industrial complex which is trying to take the arms race into space. Its attempts to gain military superiority, however, are objectively doomed to failure. They can only further aggravate the situation in the world and increase the danger of a nuclear conflict.

That is why, together with the USSR, all progressive mankind must engage in a persistent all-round struggle to block the aggressive aspirations of imperialism and the arms race it is intensifying, and achieve total disarmament.

The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress are a platform for this type of joint struggle for the protection of our common home--the planet earth. It is entirely obvious that the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress will play a tremendous role in the unification of all peace-loving forces and the fighters for freedom, independence, democracy and social progress within a single broad front of struggle against the forces of war, reaction and imperialism.

Led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Afghan people will fulfill their duty to the end in this struggle for the preservation of peace. We well know from personal experience the importance of peace. Every day in the undeclared war unleashed by imperialism, headed by the United States and the reactionaries in the area, against our revolutionary homeland--democratic Afghanistan--causes human and material losses.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are engaged in an active struggle for ensuring the peace and security of the country and its national and social progress. However, the founding of our republic--the free and independent Afghanistan--triggered the mad rage of international reaction, U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries in the region, consisting of the ruling circles of Pakistan and Iran above all--who organized the aggression and intervention on an unparalleled scale in the internal affairs of our country, thus exporting counterrevolution. The PRC as well is pursuing a shortsighted policy towards the people of Afghanistan.

About 150 centers in which 40,000-50,000 armed counterrevolutionary bandits are trained in sabotage every year, have been established in countries neighboring ours.

In recent years the United States has spent about \$1.5 billion in waging a criminal war against our people. Under these circumstances, the further broadening of the social base of the people's regime becomes particularly important.

The question of broadening the social base of the revolution has always been in the center of PDPA attention as a main problem which would determine the fate of the revolution. Theoretically, this problem was developed in accordance with the conditions of the national democratic revolution in the

very first PDPA program and in the program for party action, which was ratified at the national PDPA conference in March 1982. Unfortunately, however, gross errors and distortions in this area were made in practical matters during the first stage of the revolution, which led to the withdrawal of a number of allies of the revolution from the people's regime. A process of correcting such errors and distortions was initiated during the new stage in the development of the revolution. Gradually, the faith of the people's masses in the strength and accuracy of the course taken by the party and revolution was restored and today we are doing a great deal to broaden the social base of the people's system. In subsequent documents issued by our party and government on the basis of a study, an assessment was made of past activities aimed at expanding the social base of the people's system. The need and relevance of accelerating such activities was indicated and practical steps were taken in this area. The trends of subsequent work were concretized and a new approach to the solution of the problem was formulated.

Based on the course of expanding the social base of the revolutionary system and the new approach to this problem, in the past period we have taken unprecedented steps and achieved some successes. In April 1985 the traditional democratic big assembly of the Afghan people was convened and the supreme assembly of border tribes was held in September of that year. At both representative meetings the people expressed their full support of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the government of the DRA and the people's revolutionary system. The first free and democratic elections for local authorities and state management, which will take place gradually, began in August 1985. So far, successful elections have been held in one-third of the country's provinces and by September 1986 elections throughout the country will be completed.

The supreme bodies of the system and of state management were broadened in the past 3 months: the Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers of the DRA. The new members of these bodies are patriotic leaders from all population strata and social groups, including workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, artisans, the clergy, petty owners, medium land owners, private entrepreneurs in the area of industrial and trade national capital, men of science and culture and representatives of all nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups. More than 70 percent of the new members are not members of the party.

Despite the continuing undeclared war, the process of revolutionary change is intensifying and developing. The land and water reform--the most important task of the democratic revolution--is being successfully carried out. Industrial production indicators have exceeded the prerevolutionary level. Construction, medical services and free education are expanding. Major successes have been achieved in the movement for the elimination of illiteracy and the armed forces of a new type are becoming stronger.

All of these measures enjoy the full and energetic support of the Afghan people. This is manifested in the strengthening of the armed forces, the increased number of different detachments for the protection of the revolution, the border militia, etc.

We shall continue to pursue a course of repelling imperialist and reactionary aggression, a course of defending the progress and happiness of the people of Afghanistan. We are confident that victory will be ours, for the majority of the free Afghan people actively support the revolutionary system and we receive international aid from our foreign friends, the great Soviet Union above all.

In conclusion, once again we express our thanks to the Soviet Union for its selfless fraternal and comprehensive aid and wish with all our hearts to the CPSU--the party of Lenin--great successes in the implementation of the vitally important tasks included in the documents of the historical 27th CPSU Congress.

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## THE TRIUMPH OF LENINIST IDEAS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 82-84

[Article by Rodney Arismendi, Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee secretary general]

[Text] The 27th Leninist Party Congress can be described as truly historical with full justification. In summing up the results of the party's activities during an exceptionally important and responsible development stage and earmarking a clear and efficient program for surmounting errors and inertia, the congress laid a reliable foundation for profound changes in the process of perfecting socialism and advancing to communism. By virtue of this fact alone, it will unquestionably be recorded in red letters in the history of the international revolutionary movement and the universal battle for a socialist renovation of life.

The CPSU Central Committee report and the documents approved by the congress formulate the tremendous task of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the USSR. The solution of the problems will create conditions which will make the Soviet Union an even more powerful and more prosperous state within a very short time--in no more than 15 years.

The result will be a doubling of the economic, social, scientific and cultural values in the USSR. Reaching these levels will be of tremendous importance to the cause of social progress throughout the world, for it will offer a visible example of the restructuring of the economy and the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution in the interest of the broad popular masses. The implementation of the plans will bring about a further increase and development of the social and cultural benefits enjoyed by the population in the land of the soviets. At the same time, the advancement of the political system will be ensured, accompanied by the increased participation of the working people in the administration of governmental affairs and the intensification of democracy. Obviously, all of this will strengthen even further the prestige and attractiveness of socialism.

One of the distinguishing features of the 27th CPSU Congress is the spirit of criticism and self-criticism which predominated it in its work. In order to implement the set objectives, literally all speeches at the congress emphasized, existing errors and omissions, elements of routine and

conservatism, and all the negative phenomena which Comrade Gorbachev characterized as features of stagnation, will have to be uprooted once and for all. Such a bold formulation of the problem, the decisive exposure of shortcomings and the identification of their most profound reasons are nothing other than the practical application of the Leninist method of criticism and self-criticism. We can be confident that surmounting the adverse trends in economic development, making it highly dynamic, upgrading the role of cadres and their responsibility and autonomy, intensifying the democratic nature of intraparty life, strengthening ties with the masses and achieving even closer unity between party and people will be the results of such a principle-minded approach. In other words, the proceedings at the congress and its resolutions confirm the triumph of the Leninist work style.

The congress delegates and the foreign guests highly rated the CPSU Central Committee political report presented by Comrade Gorbachev. Unquestionably, this is a theoretical and political document of great importance, full of innovative ideas and aspirations for the future. The report became the specific embodiment of the creative spirit of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and gave an impetus to the entire proceedings of the congress.

This precisely is the reason for the tremendous interest with which we, foreign guests representing communist and revolutionary democratic parties, countries with a socialist orientation and all revolutionary forces of our time, followed each delegate speech. The speakers pointed out the unquestionable successes achieved by the USSR. Let us particularly emphasize this, for imperialist propaganda is doing everything possible to conceal the achievements of socialism by exaggerating real and fictitious shortcomings. Actually, the Soviet Union would have been unable to formulate the new great objectives without fulfilling the basic tasks of building socialism and without having enhanced the well-being of the people and achieving an upsurge in science, education, health care and culture. However, the Soviet people and Lenin's party are not yielding to a feeling of complacency but are emphasizing the still unresolved problems and difficulties and exposing major violations committed by leading cadres. This is a guarantee that the shortcomings and negative processes will be eliminated and the leap forward planned by the party will become reality.

Naturally, the people themselves must play the main role. In his report Comrade Gorbachev said that the success of any project is determined to a decisive extent by the active and conscious participation of the masses. In the final account, the guarantee that the tasks which have been set will be carried out despite their entire complexity is found in the combativeness, heroism and high consciousness of the Soviet people and the members of Lenin's party, repeatedly tested in the course of the harshest possible trials. The people who made the October Revolution with their own hands, who built the first socialist projects--Dneproges, Magnitka and others-- despite hunger, dislocation and the harsh climate, who defeated German fascism and who initiated the peaceful conquest of space, can do anything. The defense power of the USSR, which is reliably restraining imperialist aggressive encroachments, is a fact. Furthermore, a new, a Soviet person has been molded. It is precisely by virtue of the fact that he really exists and acts



that the Soviet Union can set for itself the type of great and historically unparalleled assignments as those formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The constructive objectives formulated by the CPSU Congress are unbreakably and dialectically connected to the battle for peace on earth. Success in making quality changes and achieving a historical turn in perfecting socialism depends not only on the mobilization of the entire energy and enthusiasm of the party and the people but also on success in defending peace and avoiding nuclear catastrophe.

Comrade Gorbachev's report and the documents approved at the congress reasserted the truth that socialism is the main fighter for peace. The congress' materials are clearly consistent with the vitally important problem effecting all nations: how to survive, how to rescue civilization under present circumstances, when nuclear weapons question the very existence of mankind, while imperialism--the old historically doomed system--constantly urges on the arms race and is trying to move it to outer space. In order the safeguard peace and eliminate the threat of a nuclear conflagration, the nations and all peaceful forces on earth must assume the initiative. They must carry out specific actions which would guarantee universal security. We must use and strengthen the entire potential for peace and reason and goodwill, turning, in addition to everything else, to the most responsibly thinking ruling classes in the capitalist world. It is only thus that we can isolate the aggressive imperialist militaristic circles and secure a peaceful life for the people's masses.

The political report to the congress contains a part which the bourgeois mass information media prefer to ignore. It deals with the foundations for establishing a comprehensive system of international security, which I could describe as a real code for peaceful coexistence, a kind of peace charter. It most clearly calls not only for banning and eliminating nuclear, chemical and other types of mass destruction weapons and also describes the basis on which different social systems can coexist on earth, without being threatened by the danger of nuclear catastrophe. In my view, this part of the report plays a particular role today. It is the direct development of Lenin's ideas on peaceful coexistence among countries belonging to different social systems under the difficult conditions of the present.

Socialism was and remains the spokesman for ideas of peace and international cooperation and the main guarantor for the survival of mankind, as convincingly confirmed by the 27th CPSU Congress.

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FOR THE GOOD OF ALL MANKIND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 85-86

[Article by Ezekias Papaioannou, Secretary General, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus]

[Text] I had the opportunity to be a guest of the 27th CPSU Congress, an event of truly historical dimensions. The congress will, unquestionably, be not only a most important landmark in the development of the USSR and world socialism but also the launching pad for the accelerated and irreversible progress of mankind toward civilization without military cataclysms and upheavals. The lofty forum of Soviet communists gathered during a crucial, a turning point in contemporary history, and its resolutions are aimed at the successful solution of the crucial international situation in favor of the forces of social progress, democracy and socialism and for the good of all nations on earth.

The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the congress, delivered by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, is described, in the view of the broadest possible Cypriot public, as innovative and revolutionary in terms of the scope of assignments and suggested decisions, which combine greatness of objectives with realism of approaches to achieve them. It contains a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the most vital problems which face mankind today, the epicenter of which is the struggle for the preservation of universal peace and for the salvation of human civilization from self-destruction. The impressive Soviet proposals on banning nuclear tests and the gradual elimination of nuclear missiles and other mass destruction weapons by the end of the century, the prevention of an arms race in space, dismantling military blocs and the peaceful solution of all disputes through talks are consistent with the vital interests and expectations of all nations and with the requirements of a new way of thinking in the nuclear century. In our time there neither is nor could there be any sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, for thermonuclear war would leave mankind no hope for survival.

The American-NATO imperialists are trying to hinder the dynamic development of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community with the arms race on earth and at sea and with preparations for "star wars." They are trying to hinder the socialist system's possibility of fully displaying its

historical advantages. Instead of competing with socialism in the peaceful economic field for the sake of the enhanced well-being of the peoples and their culture, they are mounting an arms race, thus trying to "bleed white" the USSR and the entire socialist world.

The most urgent task of the peoples on the planet and of the broad coalition of anti-imperialist and antiwar movements is now to force the ruling circles of the United States and other imperialist countries to realize the realities of our time and understand the futility and mortal danger of their pursuit of military superiority.

The suggestions formulated at the Leninist party congress on creating a comprehensive system of international security, which would encompass the military, political, economic and humanitarian areas of our earth are an invaluable constructive contribution to rescuing mankind from a devastating nuclear conflagration. Such a system could become a firm foundation for peace on earth.

The study of the burning problems of the Near and Middle East, provided by the 27th CPSU Congress, proves yet once again the consistent and principle-minded position of the Soviet Union toward all regional conflict situations, which should be resolved by the peoples themselves in the interest of their social progress, without the self-seeking intervention of the United States and NATO, which are trying to preserve hotbeds of military and political tension throughout the world. The destructive and senseless war waged between Iraq and Iran, which can benefit only imperialism and reaction, should be stopped immediately. The Israeli occupation forces must withdraw from all the Arab territories they have seized and the Palestinian people must exercise their inalienable right to live in an independent and sovereign national state. The problems of Lebanon are also made by the imperialists and their accomplices--the Israeli Zionists. Stopping imperialist intervention in Lebanon would enable the people of that long-suffering country to settle its internal affairs peacefully, with talks among national political forces.

The problem of Cyprus is yet another hotbed of tension in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. The occupation of about two-fifths of Cypriot territory by Turkish forces has lasted since 1974. To this day Turkey is refusing to withdraw its forces from our country, thus grossly violating Cypriot independence and territorial integrity and ignoring UN resolutions on the Cypriot problem. The imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus is continuing. The United States and Great Britain are trying to turn our island into a permanent unsinkable aircraft carrier and a NATO missile base aimed at progressive Arab countries, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The recent Soviet proposals on ways to settle the problem of Cyprus were welcomed by the Cypriot people, government and parliament with profound approval, as realistic and fruitful. The practical implementation of the Soviet initiatives would enable Cyprus to become a territorially integral, federated, truly independent, sovereign, nonaligned and demilitarized country for the benefit of the entire Cypriot people and for strengthening peace, in the Mediterranean above all.

Now as to the most important thing: The new powerful impetus which the 27th Congress provided for the development of socialism and its dynamic upsurge.

In a truly Leninist style the congress analyzed the achievements and problems of Soviet society and earmarked clear guidelines for the country's future progress. The intensive and accelerated socioeconomic development, reaching a qualitatively new condition in all areas of social life on the basis of the utilization of the results of the scientific and technical revolution and the energizing of the constructive efforts of the working people are the key to resolving the impressive tasks which were formulated. The proceedings of the congress themselves clearly proved the great creative power of Marxism-Leninism and the tremendous possibilities of the new system and of socialist democracy. Daringly applying the tried weapon of the communists--criticism and self-criticism--Comrade Gorbachev and all other speakers at the congress fearlessly exposed omissions and shortcomings. The Soviet people, to whom the party tells the entire truth, is an inexhaustible source of strength of the CPSU. The party has nothing to conceal from the masses, for it was born of the working people and lives and works for the sake of their happiness. The innovative spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress is of special mobilizing significance to all nations fighting for peace, social progress and the socialist future of their countries.

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## REALITIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY EPOCH

### THE ERA OF COSMONAUTICS MEANS THE ERA OF MAN!

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 87-89

[Article by Academician R. Sagdeyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research]

[Text] On the eve of Cosmonautics Day, which we have celebrated every year for the past quarter of a century, marking the memorable spring morning, when Yuriy Gagarin made the first orbital flight around the earth in the history of mankind, all Soviet people feel a great spiritual uplift.

This is related, above all, to the greatest event in our time--the 27th CPSU Congress. The basic documents of the congress formulate the strategy and tactic for the accelerated progress of our country in the immediate and more distant future. The new draft of the CPSU program, which was adopted by the congress, mentions, in particular, the increased role of science in the conquest of space; the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR call for "the comprehensive study....of outer space and the universe."

The 20th century is rich in basic accomplishments of epochal significance. Unquestionably, cosmonautics holds a leading place among them. Drastically expanding the limits of transforming creative activity and scientific knowledge, it allowed man to reach new depths in the material world and provided inordinate opportunities for qualitatively new studies and experiments aimed at satisfying many ordinary needs of social practice. Let us note that cosmonautics provided not simply important information about the earth, the sun and the planets in the solar system and remote objects in the universe and the interplanetary environment but also information unattainable by any other means. We were enriched with discoveries which substantially increased, refined and, in some cases, radically changed our ideas about many processes occurring in near-space and on the sun, and about the structure of the moon, Venus and Mars.

The attitude of our people toward the tremendous area of activities which was opened was most clearly expressed in the CPSU program: "The study and conquest of space must take place only for peaceful purposes, for the development of science and production, in accordance with the needs of all



nations. The USSR favors collective efforts in resolving this problem and will actively participate in such international cooperation."

The successful implementation of the unique multiple-purpose international "Venus-Halley's Comet" project was a vivid manifestation of this clearly humanistic position.

In the morning of 6 March, day our 27th party congress was completing its work in the Kremlin Palace, the Soviet automatic station, flew across the gas and dust cover of Halley's comet, making for the first time in the world a direct comprehensive study of this celestial body. Using instruments jointly developed by scientists and specialists from the USSR, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, France, the FRG and Czechoslovakia, large-scale photographs of the comet core were obtained; the temperature and other characteristics of this "star with a tail" were measured; the gas and dust components of its matter were chemically analyzed. The electromagnetic fields around it and the physical processes occurring within its cover were studied.

For the preceding 8 months, the Vega-1 station had flown by the planet Venus, dropped a device with a set of instruments on its surface and left an aerostat in its atmosphere, as a result of which new valuable scientific information was obtained on earth, which is still being processed.

After travelling a distance of more than 700 million kilometers, the interplanetary station came close enough to the comet to take the planned scientific measurements. The first television pictures of the comet were received on 4 March and studies of the comet from a distance of 14 million kilometers were undertaken. There was a new communication on 5 March. Finally, on 6 March, scientific measurements were made and photographs taken over a 3-hour period, as the station flew by the core of the comet at a distance of about 9,000 kilometers, traveling at a relative speed of about 80 kilometers per second. More than 500 television photographs taken with a variety of light filters were transmitted to earth.

The "Venus-Halley's Comet" scientific program was coordinated with similar studies conducted by the European Space Agency, the United States and Japan.

Television pictures were taken, physical and chemical characteristics of the core were determined and the inner parts of the dust cover were studied on Sunday 9 March at 10:20 am Moscow time, at a minimal computed distance of 8,200 kilometers from the core. A substantial amount of additional information was obtained on the dynamic features, structure and composition of this celestial body. About 700 pictures of the comet photographed in various areas of the optical spectrum were relayed to earth.

Space measurements taken during the periods of communication with the Vega station, enabled us to refine the comet's trajectory; the results of the processed data were submitted to the European Space Agency Control Center for tuning-up the Giotto apparatus more precisely. This station, named after the famous Italian painter of the turn of the 14th century, who depicted the comet in one of his famous murals, came close to the core of the comet on the night of 13 March.

Currently the received information is being processed by the Space Research Institute and the other institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the scientific centers of the countries participating in the international "Venus-Halley's Comet" project. The preliminary results of the joint studies from the three programs will be published in May. Something about them could be said as of now. Thus, the hypothesis was confirmed according to which the core of the comet is a huge irregularly shaped lump of "dirty" ice. It is approximately 11 kilometers long and 7 kilometers wide. Its surface is coated by some kind of refractory material 1 centimeter thick, the composition of which is being studied.

We were able to obtain quite important information on the interaction between the comet and the solar wind. Incidentally, the study of the behavior of solar plasma in interplanetary space is of great importance not only to astrophysicists but also to earth specialists, for the "weather kitchen" probably depends on the behavior of the flows of solar plasma as well.

The direct photographs from the core of the planet and 5,000 spectrograms of its radiation, in a range from the closet ultraviolet area to the infrared (spectrograms which allow us to determine the chemical composition of the nucleus and the processes occurring within it) are the most impressive results obtained.

Equally essential is the fact that the unique equipment, designed and manufactured by our engineers in cooperation with foreign colleagues, for this entire project and, particularly, the unique television-photographic complex, which enabled us to photograph a comet with a high resolution from a distance of 8,000 kilometers, proved its excellent qualities by preserving for more than 1 year its impeccable efficiency under the exceptionally harsh conditions of interplanetary flight. This successful test unquestionably proves the high merits of this equipment and its performance, quality and reliability.

It would be no exaggeration to consider the flight of the two Vega Soviet automatic stations and the instruments developed by our foreign colleagues for the study of Halley's comet an outstanding contribution to the study of the universe. Furthermore, this also contributes to the strengthening of friendly relation among scientists and specialists from different countries, based on the common interest of finding the objective truth.

As the world press noted, this new outstanding accomplishment of Soviet cosmonautics was a first step toward the implementation of the historical resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress on the further study and mastery of outer space for peaceful purposes and the good of mankind. A meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and scientists and specialists who took part in work on the "Venus-Halley's Comet" project was held at the Kremlin on 18 March. The author of this article had the good fortune of being among them. We described the basic results and most important features of the flight of the Vega automatic stations. The first question jocularly asked by Mikhail Sergeyevich was: "How come that this event coincided with the proceedings of our congress?" The answer was equally jocular, with a significant nodding of the head upwards: "It is those up there that are responsible for the movements of the planets." "Well, come on"

Mikhail Sergeyevich said laughingly, "this means that 'there' as well there is a kind feeling toward us!" This was the informal atmosphere in which our talk was held. After warmly congratulating all us, Mikhail Sergeyevich emphasized the role of science in the strategy of the economic and social development of our society, the importance of international cooperation in the peaceful conquest of outer space and the further assertion of the peaceful course of our Leninist party and Soviet people.

As to the exchange of jocular replies, an unwitting association of ideas leads us, materialists, to the thought that, naturally, the legitimate course of history concerning those of us who are building a communist future is quite "favorable." However, the inevitably objective trend does not lower our responsibility to this future, for the objective laws of society are observed by people, and the prevention of "star wars" and the acceleration of social progress as a whole depend on the conscious efforts of millions of people, inspired by lofty human ideals. We, scientists, must be in the vanguard of these efforts, as the Communist Party demands of us.

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## SPACE WITHOUT WEAPONS AND EARTH WITHOUT WARS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 90-100

[Article by V. Sevastyanov, USSR pilot-cosmonaut, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, V. Pryakhin, candidate of historical sciences, and G. Khozin, Dr of historical sciences]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress will enter world history as an event of tremendous sociopolitical significance. The latest meeting of Soviet party members in the 20th century realistically assessed the possibilities of the 21st century. The main targets and trends of party foreign policy strategy formulated at the congress are a special blend of a philosophy of peace with a program for peaceable specific practical actions. Their purpose is not only to rescue and preserve the planet from global catastrophe but also to provide all the necessary conditions for the third millennium in mankind's history to lay the beginning of peaceful cooperation among all nations in resolving the problems of mankind despite all contradictions among different social systems and states.

The large-scale plans formulated by the congress are imbued with the spirit of socialist morality and justice. They met with the warm approval of the entire Soviet people and the fraternal socialist countries. They are highly rated by the entire worldwide progressive public. This is no accident. Concerned with the destinies of civilization, deeply believing in the power of the human mind and doing everything possible to free the peoples from the burden of militarism, the CPSU is proclaiming a long-term program worthy of the great mission of building a society based on labor, freedom and construction. In concluding the CPSU Central Committee report to the 27th Party Congress, M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, made a statement which cannot leave anyone on this earth indifferent: "In the current alarming century, our social and, I would say, vital strategy is aimed at having the people care for the planet and the skies and outer space, develop the latter as new settlers of a peaceful civilization, having purged life from nuclear nightmares and totally releasing the best qualities of a unique inhabitant of the universe, such as man, for exclusively creative purposes."

It is noteworthy that the most important landmarks in the progress of mankind, which is increasingly proving to be an inhabitant of the universe, whose activities are not limited to earth alone, are related to the implementation

of the daring plans of the new society. The heroic toil of the Soviet people opened for mankind a path to outer space. On 4 October 1957 the Soviet Union launched the first earth satellite in the world and from that time on has engaged in systematic efforts to study and use outer space for peaceful purposes.

One-quarter of a century ago, party member Yuriy Gagarin, a citizen of the Soviet Union, made the first flight in space. This unforgettable fact was backed by the exploit of the toiling people who, within a historically short time had raised their homeland from a relatively low level of economic and material and technical development to truly breathtaking high accomplishments of contemporary civilization. The efforts of hundreds of collectives in socialist industry, scientific laboratories and design bureaus made possible the first step of the direct penetration of outer space by man.

In its time, Magellan's round-the-world expedition took 3 years. It amazed its contemporaries with the hugeness of the world's oceans and inhabited land; the 1 hour and 48 minute Gagarin flight made everyone realize that the "cradle of mankind" (as Tsiolkovskiy described our planet) was not all that big on the scale of the universe and that the growth of industry and the technical power of mankind, thoughtless and rash actions of countries in the use of their scientific and technical potential, not to mention military conflicts involving the use of the latest mass destruction weapons, make the earth vulnerable and demand of mankind a careful attitude toward their unique isle of life, the universe.

In the last century, F. Engels could write with full justification that "our entire official physics, chemistry and biology are exceptionally geocentric, aimed at earth only" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 553). Theoretical knowledge began to free itself from geocentrism with the adoption of the theory of Copernicus. With Gargarin's flight mankind went beyond the limits of the planet, extending its specific activities into space. This in itself introduced substantially new factors in our general outlook and politics.

The first cosmonaut in the world was amazed by the beauty of our planet. He was the first person in history to look at it from the universe, as though from the outside, thus practically introducing into our outlook a new universal dimention. Indeed, it is particularly topical today to assess the most important thoughts and, in particular, nature-transforming projects which are being formulated in different countries, in addition to all other factors, also from the viewpoint of their potential impact on the biosphere as a whole, taking their social consequences into consideration. The Soviet Union has considered and is continuing to consider its activities in space as a necessary contribution to the progress of all mankind. "This is an unparalleled victory of man over the forces of nature, the greatest accomplishment of science and technology and the triumph of the human spirit. Man's flights in outer space have begun.... We consider victory in the conquest of space not only an achievement of our own people but of all mankind. We joyfully put such accomplishments on the survice of all nations, in the name of progress, happiness and well-being of all peoples on earth. We put our accomplishments and discoveries not on the service of war but of peace



and the security of nations," stated the appeal of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Government of the Soviet Union to the Communist Party, the people of the Soviet Union, to the peoples and governments of all countries and to all progressive mankind (PRAVDA, 13 April 1961).

Gagarin's name became the symbol of mankind's new self-awareness and a new measure of responsibility for the fate of life on earth. The peoples of the world realized their universal interconnection and the interdependence of relations which objectively lead to increasing integration. Furthermore, the possibility of scientific and technical progress has reached such a level that even changes on the scale of the solar system would no longer seem all that fantastic. The conviction is growing in many countries that climbing the cosmic steps of civilization should bring about, as K.E. Tsiolkovskiy, said, "mountains of bread and infinite power," and that the misuse of the "golden fruits" of the natural sciences and technology for the benefit of the selfish interest of the aggressive circles in the capitalist world puts the planet on the brink of a terrible catastrophe.

Conversely, the daily practical activities of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries provide numerous proofs of the way improvements in the potential of space technology is increasingly related to plans for socioeconomic development and aimed at the solution of the most topical problems of all mankind. It is common knowledge that space not only requires funds to satisfy the interest of scientists, for today outlays for space research are becoming tangible national economic assets. At the present time the achievements of cosmonautics are entering the daily lives of all countries, both the "space powers," i.e., those which independently create and operate space equipment for various purposes, as well as others. Applied orbital systems, equipped with instruments, are solving important national economic problems, such as surveying and assessing natural resources on earth, analyzing the condition of the environment, providing reliable and fast communications and navigation and meteorological observations and various cartographic charts, etc. Navigation satellites enable us to determine the coordinates of ships with maximal accuracy in a few seconds' time, thus helping ship captains. Under the conditions of "oversaturation" of air transport lines, geostationary communications satellites can perform the functions of space dispatcher systems for communications by air. International space satellite communication and navigation systems have been created and are successfully operating, such as Intersputnik, Intelsat and Imarsat. The international SOSPAS-SARSAT International System, used to rescue the crews of ships in difficulty, has been operational for about 3 years. It includes a network of observation and communication satellites, permanently orbiting, and grounds reception centers in the USSR, the United States, France, Canada and other countries. In the first 4 years of work alone this system has provided assistance in 137 catastrophes and helped rescue hundreds of people.

With the help of such technology Soviet cosmonauts have successfully resolved a number of important problems included in the plans for the country's economic and social development, such as surveying new and refining known reserves of mineral deposits in the area of the Baykal-Amur Mainline, an

assessment of water and snow resources in the Pamir and obtaining information on the centers of forest swamps. Earth telemetry soundings revealed new additional reserves for the people's economy. The system of space support information for agriculture developed in our country allows us to issue recommendations for each aspect of agricultural production from plowing to crop harvesting. Technical facilities enable us to study from outer space soil salinization, moisture and heat release.

Successful studies are being made of the world's oceans, covering the condition and distribution of its biomass, the directions of weak and strong currents, temperature zones, etc. The range of interests of applied cosmonautics extends to the sea bottom and its mineral resources.

Perfecting the potential of space technology, which makes possible scientific and applied activities beyond the earth's atmosphere provided a powerful impetus for the appearance and development of new sectors of scientific knowledge and technical progress, such as space biology, space medicine, space study of materials, etc. Each one of them opens new opportunities to mankind. Future industrialization of near-space will enable us to develop various types of items and to obtain new materials and a variety of industrial products under conditions of weightlessness and deep vacuum.

The peaceful utilization of outer space will make a substantial contribution to the solution of many global problems. Deploying solar energy systems in space will enable us to use the essentially inexhaustible resources of energy released by the sun; scientists are speaking of basic possibilities of bringing to earth the mineral resources of planets and asteroids for purposes of industrial use. Unquestionably, international cooperation would hasten the implementation of such possibilities and contribute to the efficient solution of ecological, mineral-raw material and demographic problems, problems of upgrading the living standard of the population and eliminating cultural backwardness, disease, hunger and poverty. Naturally, the use of new scientific and technical achievements will not yield expected results without proper political and social measures.

Until quite recently these and other ideas on the peaceful utilization of outer space seemed either utopian or excessively expensive. Today much of what we could not even dream of is assuming real features. Thus, for example, during the first stage of the fourth long expedition aboard the Salyut-7 Soviet orbital station, a series of biotechnical experiments was performed with a view to obtaining especially pure biologically active substances. One such study involved extracting substances through electrophoresis. On earth, such substances are used as standards of purity for vaccines and serums and for the manufacturing of new effective drugs. Another study dealt with obtaining gels in orbit, which can be used on earth as "molecular sieves." With their help, using electrophoretic systems on earth, the production of equally pure and biologically active substances as in orbit becomes possible.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the peaceful development of space is a catalyst for technical progress. It is precisely the needs of cosmonautics and the extreme need to save a few grams of weight or cubic centimeters of volume of space devices that boosted electronic miniaturization. The

subsequent use of microelectronics in the national economy and in daily life is common knowledge. Characteristic of practical activities in the development of outer space in the mid 1980s are new features, such as the combined operation of several systems, the organization of space-earth complexes, which enable us to collect and process information from space and take it to the consumers, and the creation of the initial units of the future infrastructure of industrial output in outer space as a necessary element of the "earth's economy."

One of the vivid examples of the major contribution made by cosmonautics in world science was the implementation of the comprehensive multiple-purpose program for the study of Halley's comet with the help of the Vega-1 and Vega-2 Soviet automatic stations. The program was formulated by scientists and specialists from countries participating in the international "Venus-Halley's Comet" project.

As was pointed out in the press, the successful implementation of the large-scale international project on the study of the planet Venus and Halley's comet, with the participation of large groups of scientists and specialists from socialist and capitalist countries, proved the real possibilities and broad prospects for the peaceful development of outer space through the combined efforts of different countries.

The development of a new work cycle by cosmonauts Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyev, aboard the Mir orbital scientific station, which is a basic block in building a multiple-purpose permanent manned complex in orbit, was a major event in the development of outer space. This is a third-generation station, equipped with computers, a more advanced power supply system and new instruments. Six coupling systems allow the docking of several transport space ships and the expansion of the station with modules for scientific and national economic purposes. This offers the possibility of building an entire research "city" in miniature, with a series of branches of scientific and production companies. This makes K.E. Tsiolkovskiy's dream of "ethereal settlements in the universe" possible.

The further development of space technology and the increasingly comprehensive and intensified study and practical utilization of outer space are consistent with the objective laws of the needs of mankind. It is precisely here that vectors from opposite directions harmoniously combine--the broadened area of direct human activities in space and the increasing "participation" of space in human affairs. This merger reflects the entire essence of the integral concept of peaceful "space" progress as an alternative to scientific research and experimental design work for military purposes.

The 25 years which have passed since man's first flight in history offer abundant proof that the growth of the scientific and technical power of mankind and its penetration of the universe are inseparable from the complex and comprehensive confrontation and interaction among states with different social systems on earth. The politically heterogeneous mankind clearly feels the growing burden of antagonistic contradictions of the obsolete social system. These are capitalist contradictions in U.S. space activities, which are beginning to threaten the interest of the entire planet.

Basically, space should be the universal property of mankind. No other area of conscious and purposeful activities is so closely related to the need for broad international cooperation. K.E. Tsiolkovskiy considered a "cosmic view" on things needed for the maximally possible realization of mankind's creative potential for the common good. He considered man's emergence in space a means of implementation of lofty humanistic ideals. "In working on jet devices," the scientist said, "I had peaceful and lofty objectives in mind: to conquer space for the good of mankind...." ("K.E. Tsiolkovskiy i Nauchno-Tekhnicheskii Progress" [K.E. Tsiolkovskiy and Scientific and Technical Progress]. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, p 156).

The aspiration to make science and technology as a whole and cosmonautics in particular instruments of peace and progress and an arena for equal and mutually profitable cooperation is inherent in socialist society. "Do I feel happy in undertaking a space flight?" Yuriy Gagarin said before the launch. "Naturally, I am, for at all times and in all ages it has been the great happiness of people to participate in new discoveries. I would like to dedicate this first flight to the people of communism--a society which, I am confident, will be joined by all people on earth."

At the time that the first earth cosmonaut was saying these words, full of concern for the peace and happiness of mankind, work on the development of space technology for military purposes was already in full swing in the United States. The prediction of Academician S.P. Korolev, the great friend and tutor of Soviet cosmonauts, and the main designer of space equipment, was being realized. As early as the 1930s, as a young engineer and enthusiastic worker in rocketry, he wrote in one of his works that "in the capitalist countries, however, where each achievement of science and technology is considered, above all, from the viewpoint of its suitability for war, the development of rockets for innocuous purposes could hardly draw great attention on the part of the government or funding. The intensive development of rocketry over the past decade is, unquestionably, taking place under the sign of preparations for war...." ("Tvorcheskoye Nasledie Akademika Sergeya Pavlovicha Koroleva" [The Creative Legacy of Academician Sergey Pavlovich Korolev]. Nauka, Moscow, 1980, pp 69-70).

The trend inherent in imperialism of one-sided utilization of the achievements of science and technology in the military area did not bypass American astronautics. The study of official documents regulating the U.S. space program and statements by the President and members of the military department and scientists lead to the conclusion that the trend toward the militarization of American astronautics is considered a legitimate process. The active use for outer space for military purposes is considered today, as it was a quarter of a century ago, one of the most attractive themes in the political struggle for the U.S. presidency.

In 1946 the scientific-research organization of the U.S.A., the Rand Corporation, closely connected to the military department, carried out its first assignment. It submitted a report titled "Preliminary Project for Experimental Space Ships for Flights Around the Earth." The report listed the possible areas for the military utilization of space apparatus in the future, manned and unmanned. The American researchers themselves acknowledge the



persistent trend of utilization of the results of the U.S. space program for military purposes, which was started even before space launchings. "Taking into consideration the sources of the national space program and for its steady funding, the U.S. concern for the fact that the national security of the country largely depends on the development of space technology becomes obvious" ("System Analysis and Policy Planning. Applications in Defense," New York, 1968, p 314). The superficially harmless words about national security conceal plans for the militarization of space and converting it into an arena of combat operations.

Ronald Reagan has outstripped all of his predecessors in the presidency in his plans for converting outer space into an arena of military confrontation and in engaging in dangerous actions in that direction. Special Presidential Directive No 42 on the new U.S. policy in the study and utilization of outer space in the 1980s and beyond was promulgated as early as July 1982. The formulations in this official document are in the spirit of the most militant political statements by the President and his closest retinue. For example, the directive stated that the development of so-called antisatellites has been undertaken, as a "deterrent to the threats to space systems operated by the United States and its allies."

In accordance with this directive, an interdepartmental coordination group was set up under the President, assigned to analyze the various alternatives in the development of space technology in accordance with the military, political, economic and other interests of the United States. The results of this analysis were reported to the President. The group included the deputy secretary of defense, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the deputy secretary of state, the director of the CIA, the director NASA, the director of the Disarmament and Arms Control Agency, the deputy secretary of commerce and representatives of the Office of Management and the Budget and of the Office of Science and Technology. The nature of the departments predominating in this group clearly indicates that the Republican administration intends to channel the potential of the U.S. space program above all into the military area.

The latest data indicate that the plans of the administration have little in common with defense, for it is a question above all of protecting the launching sites of ballistic missiles and creating favorable conditions which would enable the United States to deal a first preemptive strike. The AIR FORCE journal, which is close to the Pentagon and the corporations in the military-industrial complex, recently acknowledged that the U.S. Department of Defense is already engaged in the implementation of a "new long-term program which will determine ways of developing a combined system of antiaircraft, antispace and antimissile defense" (AIR FORCE, vol 68, no 2, 1985, p 45). The main priority and the essential component of this "Strategic Defense Architectural Plan 2000" is the notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) or, as it has become known in the United States and in many other countries, President Reagan's "star wars" program.

The "strategic defense initiative" of the Republican administration, which was granted governmental status and is absorbing significant intellectual and material resources of the United States and some of its NATO allies, provides



a striking contrast to the very logic and the realities of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. It is precisely as world cosmonautics enters its period of maturity and can repay a hundredfold huge material resources and when the contribution of scientists, designers, engineers, technicians and workers has made possible the beginning of the space age of mankind, that Washington has drafted the sinister plan of converting space into an arena of combat operations, a plan for the development "star wars" weapons. Its implementation drastically changes the system of priorities in scientific and technical progress in the United States and forces the other capitalist countries to follow suit to the detriment of their own economic and even military interests.

Although the need for a new type of a political thinking has long become necessary, which would allow all countries, regardless of social system, to hasten the time when wars will be excluded from the life of mankind and the planet will be totally rid of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, imperialism stubbornly refuses to abandon obsolete military-political doctrines and theoretical concepts. As E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, noted in his speech at the 27th CPSU Congress, "imperialism is not about to abandon the persistent idea that the most progressive achievements of the human mind embodied in means of destruction can perpetuate its domination and hold back the progress of history. However, the possibilities and nature of modern weapons are such that they void the policy of confrontation and struggle of all meaning."

The militarization of space activities by the United States and other capitalist countries is not limited merely to work on the development of weaponry systems to be used in and from outer space. Plans for military space aircraft and for the use in the interest of the Pentagon of the Columbia permanent orbital station, in the development of which Western European countries and Japan have agreed to participate, and plans for widening the arsenal of applied military outer space systems have already been made public.

The monopoly circles ignore universally accepted ethical norms or considerations of elementary common sense whenever they have the possibility of showing a profit from any new form of lethal business (that is precisely what cosmonautics has become to them today). Furthermore, some people are ready to raise this vicious principle to the rank of moral virtue.

The steadily increasing funds for military purposes, appropriated by the governments of the capitalist countries, the United States above all, are indeed the "booster shots" for the militarized sectors of the economies of these countries. It is thanks to such "philanthropy" at the expense of the interest of the working people that single-handedly Lockheed, the aerospace concern, one of the pillars of the U.S. military-industrial complex, was able to increase its profits by 31 percent in 1984 alone. Such stable growth rates of profits ensure the stable blossoming of the war business. New military-industrial corporations are also appearing, whose main "specialization" is the development of weapons systems which, until recently, were in the domain of horror science fiction, such as lasers, rays and other types of guided energy weapons, and refined means of destruction of all life on earth. One of them is the prosperous Halionetics Corporation. E. Teller, the "father of the

hydrogen bomb," and an active supporter of "star wars," who has an influence on President Reagan, is one of the founders and owners of this corporation.

Unquestionably, the last decades of the 20th century will be marked by the further expansion and intensification of reciprocal relations covering all aspects of governmental activities--politics, economics, military affairs, science, technology and culture. This circumstance makes quite topical the steady refining of the scientific picture of the world and the identification of new forms of interaction between mankind and nature, as well as the interdependence among countries as global economic relations develop and advance. It is no accident, therefore, that theoretical concepts on the specific features of reciprocal behavior of countries in the face of universal problems, which can be resolved only through global cooperation and the close and constructive interaction among the majority of states, based on total equality and strict respect for national sovereignty, were further developed at the 27th CPSU Congress. These concepts are most directly related to governmental space activities as well.

Although the United States and a number of other capitalist countries undertook the implementation of national space programs in close connection with that of applied military space projects, bringing to life a number of plans for the creation of weapons systems to be used in space and from space, the experience of nearly 3 decades of cosmonautics unequivocally proves that political realism and common sense could prevail in Soviet-American relations and in world politics as a whole. Great joint space plans serving both Soviet and U.S. interests and those of all mankind could be the direct consequence of such a turn of events.

In assessing the results of Soviet-American cooperation in space in the 1970s while simultaneously paying attention to the fact that the contemporary scientific and technical revolution has reached quite a high level of development, in which the application of its achievements to military purposes increases the threat of the destruction of all forms of life on earth, American researcher D. Deudney writes the following: "The fact that war has taken people to space does not mean in the least that ending military activities in space would lower the aspiration to continue with the conquest and utilization of outer space.... Under contemporary conditions, if mankind can take yet another step and start a "race" in achieving practical tasks, space activities may recover the inspired atmosphere of the first years of the space age" (D. Deudney, "Space: The High Frontier in Perspective," Washington, 1982, p 55).

The concept of "star peace" formulated by the Soviet Union at the 40th UN General Assembly session, which includes a specific list of basic trends and principles of international cooperation in the peaceful development of outer space under the conditions of its nonmilitarization, reflects the thoughts and expectations of the vast majority of countries and is consistent with the national interest of socialist, developing and capitalist countries and, at the same time, is called upon to contribute to the interests of all mankind: the building of a peaceful future, which opens opportunities for the progress of civilization. This concept is constructive and humanistic in nature. It totally destroys the "arguments" of the supporters of extending the arms race

to space, who claim that the militarization of science and technology as a whole and in space activities in particular is of a permanent and irreversible nature. The most important constructive feature of this concept is that it can organically absorb any bilateral or multilateral space projects of a constructive nature.

"Mankind," the address of Soviet to American scientists reads, "is on the threshold of gigantic steps in the development of space, requiring broad international cooperation. An even more intensive utilization of near-space to meet the needs of economic development and science and the study of the planets within the solar system and many others lie ahead. Such possibilities, however, can be realized only in the absence of any weapons in space, regardless of proclaimed functions." (PRAVDA, 8 February 1986).

The view held by the Soviet scientists is close to and understood by those among their foreign colleagues who consider that the highest purpose of life is the search for objective truth and whose main moral concepts are based on the progressive traditions of world classical culture.

A characteristic feature of alternative space projects which could be undertaken by the USSR and the United States and many other countries is their constructive trend. The authors of such plans do not oppose technical progress as such and, therefore, do not reject science and technology which are considered by some bourgeois scientists and propagandists as the main culprits for the aggravation of socioeconomic contradictions within capitalist society. On the contrary, they call for the thorough study of the nature of space projects, the scrupulous evaluation of the probable consequences of the use of the developed equipment and taking at the earliest possible stages reliable steps to reduce any adverse side effects which could occur in any type of technical activities.

Equally noteworthy is that the very fact of holding an extensive discussion of alternate space projects leads mankind back to the historical level at which it was most ready for entering a qualitatively new stage in the peaceful development of outer space and from which it was so thoughtlessly pulled back by the militaristic policy and ambitions of conservative circles in the United States and many other capitalist states. This occurred during the period of detente and normalizing of Soviet-American relations, when the leaders of the U.S. space program were announcing to the entire world that international cooperation is the only real means of implementing tremendous plans, such as the creation of a large orbital station, a scientific base on the moon or a manned flight to Mars, and the development of orbital systems for gathering and disseminating information which would ensure security, arms control and implementation of programs for the socioeconomic development of all countries. The exceptionally high cost of the "star wars" program--exceeding \$1 trillion--makes the soonest possible implementation of alternate constructive space projects particularly attractive.

Noted foreign personalities in the fields of science and technology counter the "star wars" program with the alternative of peaceful cooperation in space through the unification of international efforts in resolving the most important problems of mankind.

Several American scientists advanced the idea of organizing by 1992 a Soviet-American manned flight to Mars, timed for the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus and the 75th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the opinion of L. Friedman, executive director of the Society for Planetary Studies, which has more than 125,000 members, such a project "would be of tremendous significance in terms of global security and international stability."

On 30 October 1984 President Reagan signed a joint U.S. Congress resolution which recommended a resumption of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the study and utilization of outer space. The signing of the resolution provided an impetus for new proposals on the nature and deadlines for the implementation of Soviet-American space plans. The farthest reaching among them is a resolution submitted by Senator M. Matsanaga, which was passed by the Congress in February 1985. It calls for undertaking preparations for Soviet-American flights to Mars (see "U.S.-Soviet Cooperation in Space. A Technical Memorandum." Washington, 1985, p 3).

Although all of these suggestions are in themselves constructive, their implementation as well as the expansion of Soviet-American scientific and technical cooperation in many other areas depend, above all, on the position of the U.S. political leadership on radical problems of our time and on its readiness to take the path of disarmament and strengthening of international security.

In recent years Soviet and foreign specialists have paid a great deal of attention to the study of the various aspects of reconversion, i.e., of organizational ways, means and methods for converting military sectors to the solution of the most topical problems of our time. In our view, it would be legitimate to raise the question of initiating a process of reconversion by including elements of the economic and scientific and technical infrastructure of the countries, whose main "specialization" today is the production of means of destruction, and the creation of a technical potential for weakening the gravity of global contemporary problems--ecological, energy and mineral and raw material--the struggle against hunger and disease, surmounting backwardness in former colonial countries and developing outer space and the resources of the world's oceans.

Therefore, the only sensible choice here is a space free of weapons. What the "star" maniacs are imposing upon mankind is madness. This is realized by all progressive scientists and sensible men of culture. The address of the members of the Association for Space Flight to M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, read: "We have gathered to join in the efforts of people who have had the unique opportunity of seeing our outstanding planet earth from space and have made use of space equipment and technology exclusively for the good of all people on earth. We shall aspire to attaining this objective."

Political realism and decisively curbing the arms race, initiating as soon as possible the reconversion of industrial sectors, enterprises and scientific research organizations working in the military area to the solution of most topical socioeconomic problems, and conversion to extensive and equal

scientific and technical cooperation are most important prerequisites and structural components of the process of establishing on earth the type of economic and political structure which would serve the cause of progress of all mankind.

Unfortunately, events in recent weeks indicate that some circles in Washington are deliberately taking dangerous steps toward the aggravation of international political tension. Ignoring basic common sense and world public opinion as well as protests within their own country, the U.S. militaristic circles exploded a nuclear device at the Nevada testing grounds. While the Soviet Union has proved its high responsibility for the fate of mankind with its months-old moratorium on nuclear tests, the American administration is deliberately doing precisely the opposite. In his 29 March address on Soviet television, in the name of our people Comrade M.S. Gorbachev turned to the American people and government and to the peoples and governments of all countries with the appeal to take practical actions which would energetically contribute to making a ban on nuclear explosions a fact, and an invaluable norm of intergovernmental relations. "Mankind is at a level demanding extreme responsibility," the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said. "The consequences of a nuclear race could become dangerously unpredictable. We must act jointly. This applies to one and all."

The active line followed by the USSR in the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war and curbing the arms race is consistent with the expectations of all democratic forces on earth and an objective historical necessity.

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## PAGES FROM THE STRUGGLE

### FOLLOWING THE COURSE OF UNITY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THAELMAN'S LEGACY

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[Article by V. Tsapanov]

[Text] There are events in the history of any country which leave a profound imprint on its entire subsequent development. The founding of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on 21-22 April 1946, at the Unification Congress of the Communist and Social Democratic parties of Germany, was such a landmark for the the GDR. Under the tumultuous applause of the delegates, Wilhelm Piek and Otto Grotewohl, the noted leaders of the revolutionary German workers movement and of the two parties, sealed this historical act with a fraternal handshake. On that occasion, Otto Grotewohl said: "An old dream has come true: German working class unity." Wilhelm Piek answered: "We shall turn our Socialist Unity Party into a million-strong party of the German working people, in order to defeat all internal enemies and attain our great objective: socialism."

The congress delegates unanimously approved the "Principles and Objectives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany." Stemming from the historical mission of the working class, this programmatic document indicated the path to socialism on German soil through the systematic implementation of antifascist-democratic change. It made creative use of the Leninist ideas of the growth of a bourgeois-democratic into a socialist revolution. The program encompassed the experience of the German and international worker movements, that of the CPSU above all. It took into consideration the historical conclusions of the 7th Comintern Congress, the essential stipulations of the CPG Brussels and Bern conferences and the familiar CPG Central Committee 11 June 1945 appeal, which indicated the way to building a new Germany.

The unification of the German labor movement became possible thanks to the victory of the USSR and its allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition over German fascism.

In accordance with Marxism-Leninism, the CPG traditions and the behests of Ernst Thaelman, its leader, the centennial of whose birth coincides this year with the 40th anniversary of the SED, the "Principles and Objectives" proclaimed as a mandatory prerequisite for the creation of a socialist society

the seizure of political power by the working class. The document contained a concise and clear definition of the nature of socialism.

The founding of a single working class party on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theoretical and organizational principles marked a radical turn in the German labor movement, which had covered a long and twisted path leading to this decision. It crowned the consistent and unyielding struggle waged by Ernst Thaelman for working class unity of action, the conversion of the workers party into a mass party of a new, Leninist type, and, in Thaelman's words, making it "the iron vanguard" of the working people. It was as though Thaelman was invisibly present among the thousands of Berliners who had gathered on 21 April 1946 on Friedrichstrasse, enthusiastically to welcome the birth of a united worker party, marching with them shoulder to shoulder.

Thaelman's ideas of revolutionary change and struggle for building a new world run throughout the entire history of the SED and the GDR. "When the two worker parties," said Wilhelm Piek, "surmounted their fatal division and united within the SED, the unification was in the spirit of Ernst Thaelman's ideas. When with the founding of the GDR the Germans created their first state of workers and peasants, this was a victory of the great ideas for which Ernst Thaelman lived, struggled and suffered." The communists justifiably relate the struggle for socialism and communism in the GDR, the struggle waged by the progressive forces in the FRG against imperialist reaction, neo-Nazism and revanchism and for unity between communists and social democrats and among people of different views and religious persuasions within a movement for social progress, against preparations for nuclear war and for safeguarding peace, to Ernst Thaelman's personality and ideas.

The founding of the SED was the triumph of Thaelman's idea of unity of the German working class over its division and of Marxism-Leninism over the ideology of fascism and opportunism. "The creations of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," the SED program stipulates, "was an essential lesson drawn from the history of the German labor movement, that the working class can carry out its historical mission only by eliminating the division within its ranks, created by imperialism and opportunism, and by uniting on a revolutionary basis and being headed by a purposeful, united Marxist-Leninist party, tempered in battle and closely linked with the masses."

The 40 years which have passed since the Unification Congress proved that Wilhelm Piek's words on the creation of a mass party of the working class and the German working people, able to lead them to socialism, have come true. Today the SED has some 2.3 million party members and candidate members.

The SED proved itself a truly revolutionary and transforming force. It withstood the difficult trials of the class struggle. It was able to inspire and rally the working class, the peasantry, the working intelligentsia and the other people's strata in the GDR in the struggle for building a new life under its leadership.

To many the very idea of building a socialist society in a Germany corrupted by fascism and poisoned with the toxin of anticommunism seemed an unattainable dream. However, the German communists had faith in the progressive forces of

their people. Loyal to their revolutionary duty, allied with the progressive social democrats, they daringly assumed responsibility for the fate of the homeland and lead the people's masses to the struggle for a better future. Headed by its Marxist-Leninist party, the GDR working class allied with the peasantry and the other social strata and groups, and relying on the selfless aid of the Soviet people and the other fraternal countries, implemented antifascist-democratic changes in the course of a continuing revolutionary process, laid the foundations for socialism and achieved the victory of socialist production relations in all areas of the national economy. Surmounting tremendous difficulties in the fierce struggle against imperialist reaction, face-to-face with the powerful and experienced class enemy in West Germany, they honorably solved a problem of historical significance by creating the GDR and are successfully building a developed socialist society.

The existence and power of the Soviet Union and the fact that the GDR is a firm part of the community of socialist states were important factors in the strengthening and progress of the socialist German state. This guarantees the GDR steady aid and reliable support in its struggle against uninterrupted imperialist attempts to interfere in its domestic affairs.

As underscored in the SED program, building a developed socialist society "requires the high-level systematic development of all of its advantages and motive forces, all aspects and areas of social life, production forces and production relations, social and political relations, science and public education, socialist ideology, culture and the sum total of working and living conditions and the country's defense." The GDR communists and working people realize that a great deal more time and efforts will be required and a great deal more will have to be accomplished to solve these problems.

Like the other members of the socialist community, between the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s the GDR encountered major problems in its development. The international situation became drastically aggravated as the result of the increased aggressiveness of imperialist policy, American above all. This demanded additional expenditures for defense. The increased prices of fuel and raw materials in the world capitalist market, to which the GDR economy is greatly related, complicated the foreign economic relations of the republic. By taking prompt measures to surmount the arising difficulties and relying on the significantly greater material, scientific and technical and spiritual potential of the GDR and its high level of interaction with the Soviet Union and the other members of the community, the SED responded to the challenge of the time with the decision to pursue the implementation of the policy adopted at the beginning of the 1970s, encompassing its social and economic aspects: upgrading the material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of high rates of socialist production, increased efficiency, scientific and technical progress and enhanced labor productivity.

The SED formulated an expanded economic strategy for the 1980s with a view to the implementation of these tasks. The strategy was based on comprehensive production intensification through the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, more efficient and intensive raw material processing, upgrading the efficient utilization of energy, updating and ensuring the better utilization of fixed capital and upgrading labor productivity and

quality of output. The SED, which is systematically pursuing this strategic course, is accelerating the GDR's socioeconomic development.

In his address to the 27th CPSU Congress, Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, noted that the proceedings and results of the congress "will have a profound impact on the entire community of socialist states. The problems which our countries are resolving on a new and higher level of development demand, more urgently than ever before, our increased cooperation in theory and practice and exchange of experience. The 27th CPSU Congress will provide a powerful impetus to such an even more efficient interaction. It will also give out party valuable ideas concerning its further work."

The SED set the task of taking an essentially new step forward in combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. The SED program considers this the main way to strengthening and perfecting the material and technical base for socialism. The party promptly realized these requirements and was able to adapt itself to the essential changes and, having harnessed the energy and creativity of the masses, efficiently and systematically undertook the implementation of the necessary steps. The achievements of scientific and technical progress became the main reserve for the accelerated growth of the country's economic power and the increased efficiency of the national economy.

The GDR spends more than 4 percent of its national income on scientific and technological development. Almost 200,000 skilled specialists are engaged in scientific research and experimental design. About 2 million working people are members of the movement of innovators and rationalizers.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries is a major booster of progress. More than 200 intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements ensure comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and the GDR in resolving problems in all economic sectors, science and technology.

The resolutions of the summit economic conference of CEMA members are being implemented. Our two countries are coordinating their national economic plans in accordance with the Long Term Program for Cooperation Between the USSR and the GDR In Science, Technology and Production for the Period Until the Year 2000. The Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries Until the Year 2000 is of great importance in intensifying cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union and the other members of the community.

The creation of combines in industry, construction, transportation and communications was the most important step in perfecting production relations and economic management and planning. Today this new form of production organization is the backbone of the country's economy. The GDR has 156 combines under central and 124 under district administration.

A high rate of rationalizations and a faster development of basic output may be noted at all industrial combines and enterprises. Many combines are

already contributing out of their own funds approximately one-third of the capital investments channeled into technical retooling and updating.

The combines are able to carry out complex national economic tasks through their own forces, combining development and application of scientific and technical innovations with their production mastery and marketing of finished goods, including exports. They are the main force in mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

The implementation of the economic strategy of the SED is yielding results. The growth rates of the national income have increased. The latest 5-year plan (1981-1985) was fulfilled successfully. Last year the national income increased by 4.8 percent. Nine-tenths of its output was achieved through higher labor productivity. The share of raw and other material outlays is declining with every passing year. It declined by 3.5 percent in 1985. Production costs are dropping.

Agricultural collectivization in the GDR was the creative embodiment and triumph of the ideas of the Leninist cooperative plan. This national economic area is a stable factor in the country's socioeconomic development. The 1985 harvest totaled 11.6 million tons of grain, averaging 46 quintals per hectare. This is the basis for increased animal husbandry output. Supplies to cities and worker centers of meat, eggs, poultry and vegetables are improving. Work is underway for the further improvement of agricultural production cooperation and specialization and intercooperative relations and labor management and organization in the countryside. In this area the SED is promoting the creative mastery of the entire potential of cooperative ownership, based on the fact that agricultural cooperation in the GDR has by no means exhausted its possibilities.

The other form of cooperation--artisan production cooperatives, which were established on SED initiative in accordance with past familiar German cooperative traditions, is also making its contribution to the building of socialism. Furthermore, the party deems it expedient to support within a certain limit activities of private entrepreneurs, such as artisans, craftsmen, petty merchants and owners of small coffee shops and snack bars. Integrated within the socialist production relations system and under state control, they are contributing to meeting the growing needs of the population, particularly in the service industry.

The steady enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the population is taking place on the basis of stable economic progress. This is manifested in the growth of income, the main source of which is pay for work, the basic form of which is wages. Social funds are contributing to improving the living conditions of the people and to the gradual equalization of income levels. Such funds are used for housing construction, keeping rentals low, ensuring the stability of consumer goods, education, health care, and sports and meeting the growing needs of the population for social and cultural services.

Housing construction is considered the core of the GDR's social program. Under the people's regime one-half of the country's population has moved into



new apartments. A total of 2.4 million apartments have been built since 1971. As a result of the implementation of the plan for housing construction and modernization, the living conditions of another 3 million people will improve between 1986 and 1990. The party emphasizes that by 1990 housing as a social problem will have been resolved.

The further development and advancement of socialism sets strict requirements not only for production but for man's spiritual capabilities as well. That is why the SED is comprehensively contributing to the enhancement of culture and the satisfaction of the people's growing spiritual and aesthetic requirements.

A socialist national culture has blossomed in the entire richness of its content and variety of form in the GDR. It is rooted in the new reality of the republic. However, it is also closely related to the traditions of the progressive and humanistic culture of the German people and all mankind, Soviet culture in particular. Relations among men of literature and the arts in the GDR, the USSR and the other socialist countries are becoming increasingly varied and fruitful. The anniversary celebrations of Goethe, Schiller, Hegel, Fichte, Kant, Bach, Hendel, Beethoven, Durer, Cranach, Luther, Munzer, Shakespeare, Copernicus, Tolstoy and Chekhov were major events in GDR life.

Literature and art are having an increasing influence on the spiritual development of the working people in socialist society and on shaping the new way of life. The SED pays particular attention to the spiritual enhancement of the working class and to its increased influence on the development of socialist culture and intensified idea-mindedness, patriotism and internationalism in GDR literature and art.

Physical culture and sports have become a firm component of the socialist way of life of GDR citizens. They have developed tremendously thanks to comprehensive party and state support.

The SED is a party of revolutionary action. It was of such a party that Ernst Thaelman passionately dreamed and for which he worked tirelessly. Rallying within its ranks the progressive representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, it is the most influential and truly democratic and progressive political force in the GDR.

In accordance with Lenin's party doctrine and implementing Thaelman's behest, the SED is the political leader, organizer and educator of the masses. The unity among these three aspects of communist activities is considered in the GDR a mandatory prerequisite for successful leadership of society, a role which they are honorably fulfilling.

The SED has always aspired to strengthening its close relations with the working class and the toiling masses. It closely listens to their voice. The preparations for the 11th SED Congress, which will be held between 17 and 21 April 1986 and, in particular, the results of individual talks held on this occasion with all party members reasserted the effectiveness of the SED slogan formulated in the spirit of Thaelman: "The Party Is Where the Communists Are!" This slogan is being implemented most consistently where the party

organizations live the life of the people, where an atmosphere of high exigency and trust exists and the opinion of every party and nonparty member is considered.

The party of GDR communists closely follows the processes developing within the country and in the international arena and, promptly reacting to change, formulates scientific strategy and tactics consistent with the general laws and features of social development. Taking into consideration its specific conditions and experience and the experience of the fraternal parties, it indicates to the working people the ways and targets of their constructive activities at each stage in building socialism.

The SED documents emphasize that ideological work was and remains the pivot of all of its activities. This is related to the increased significance of Marxist-Leninist outlook as the most important lever in upgrading the social activeness of the working people and the role of the human factor in building socialism. Ideological work is also formulated in accordance with the conditions of the international class struggle which urgently demand improvements in ways and means and upgrading the efficiency of ideological and political work. The history of the SED and the GDR is one of ideological struggle within the country and particularly against external imperialist forces, the neighboring FRG above all. It is in the course of such ideological confrontation, thanks to the firm and clear ideological and political course charted by the SED, that Marxism-Leninism became the dominant outlook in the GDR.

Favorable results have been achieved through the systematic efforts of the SED in surmounting nationalistic and chauvinistic prejudices nurtured by German imperialism and fascism, and in the education of the new man, distinguished by his loyalty to the lofty ideals of socialism, collectivism and comradeship and awareness of international solidarity.

In directing the process of national self awareness of the people of the GDR and their pride in their socialist fatherland and its accomplishments, the party is also concerned with preventing the appearance on such grounds of the distorted shoots of national boastfulness and conceit and disrespectful attitude toward other nations and peoples. The SED organically combines mass political and ideological work with raising the working people in a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian socialist internationalism, and friendship and solidarity among nations. E. Honecker emphasizes that "it is not national arrogance or the fatal quagmire of German boastfulness but creative cooperation within the family of equal socialist nations that is the determining foundation for the activities of our state today and for all times."

In accordance with Leninist principles and Thaelman's behest on the need for concluding broad alliances and agreements with the nonproletarian population strata, from the very beginning of its existence the SED organized cooperation with the democratic parties which appeared after liberation from fascism: the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany and the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany and, on this basis, cooperation among the broad masses of the entire

population. Today these are relations of fraternal alliance and comradely cooperation among socialist classes of workers, peasants, intellectuals and other toiling strata with the leading role of the working class. All social classes and strata and democratic parties are increasingly rallying around the Marxist-Leninist party, seeing for themselves that its policy is consistent with the interest of the entire nation.

Thanks to the consistent policy of SED alliances, all toiling strata are directly interested and participate in building the new society. A gradual process of rapprochement among classes and various groups of working people is taking place and the moral and political unity of society is strengthening. The idea of a unified National Front, tirelessly urged by Ernst Thaelman, for the implementation of which he fought sparing no efforts, has been clearly embodied in the activities of the GDR National Front.

The establishment and development of a broad alliance among all population strata in the GDR is justifiably considered one of the historical accomplishments of the SED. The party deems it necessary to continue to be guided by the principles according to which every citizen, regardless of social origin, religious beliefs and outlook, must be offered the broadest possible opportunities and social conditions for active participation in the further advancement of socialist society and, on the basis of economic progress, ensured improvements in material and cultural standards.

The SED considers the unified educational system which, in the view of the German communists, is the main source for successful political, economic and scientific and technical progress in the country, an efficient lever in the education of the new person. Particular attention is paid to the political and ideological training of GDR citizens, young people above all. This is very important in the face of Western political and ideological subversion, above all that of FRG imperialist forces.

Of the 8.9 million working people in the GDR, 4.6 million have general secondary training; 85 percent of the manpower has full professional technical training. Today a great deal of attention is being paid to organizing the training process on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements. By the end of the 1980s new curriculums will have been drafted for secondary general education schools, which will make use of the latest scientific achievements. The higher and secondary specialized schools have become important centers for training, education, upgrading skills and scientific research. Here the system of training, upgrading skills and retraining cadres is increasingly assuming the nature of a continuing education process.

The GDR working people have accepted SED policy as their own and are responding to it with new production achievements and increased social activeness. This is confirmed by the high labor upsurge and scope of the socialist competition in honor of the forthcoming 11th SED Congress.

SED activities are systematically guided by scientific socialism. As Erich Honecker emphasizes, the significant successes achieved by the GDR in building the new society became possible only because the SED applied this doctrine to

the specific conditions of its country and made comprehensive use of the experience of the global communist movement, that of the CPSU in particular.

On the basis of revolutionary traditions, and taking into consideration the experience of the German and international labor movements, the SED has made a worthy contribution to the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory. It enriched the practice of unity of action and organization of the working class. Steadfastly following the Leninist strategy and tactics of class coalitions and alliances, the party has involved all social classes and strata in the process of socialist change. It is successfully resolving problems related to the place and role of cooperatives under socialist conditions and has contributed to the development of the theories of the socialist nation, socialist national culture and to solving problems of using revolutionary and progressive national and international traditions in the education of the working people. The SED pays great attention in its theoretical work to the study of the laws, features and contradictions of real socialism. Also included in the party's field of vision are problems of the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and the strategy and tactics of the struggle for peace and against the threat of thermonuclear war.

The German communists have always shown great interest in the historical experience of the CPSU and the Soviet state and have studied it profoundly. "The Communist Party of Germany," Thaelman wrote in 1925, "must study the history of the Russian Revolution in all its stages. It must study all of its battles in order to master the bolshevik experience....and learn how to follow in the footsteps of the fraternal Russian party."

In turn, the Soviet communists welcome with profound respect the theoretical work and political experience of communist and worker parties, including the SED. This was reasserted at the 27th CPSU Congress. Thus, in summing up the results of the discussions of the new draft of the party program, M.S. Gorbachev noted that we follow with understanding the formulation of problems of building developed socialism as included in the programmatic documents of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries.

Together with the other socialist countries, the GDR is making a substantial contribution to the struggle for creating favorable foreign policy conditions for building a new society and safeguarding peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. As a result of the coordinated policy of the members of community and with the active participation of the GDR major steps were taken to consolidate the results of World War II and to develop and safeguard peace in Europe. Thanks to such coordinated efforts, the GDR earned universal diplomatic recognition and its reputation in the world community was enhanced.

Considering the aggravation of the international situation and the unparalleled increase in the threat of global thermonuclear catastrophe, by the turn of the 1980s, the socialist German state considerably intensified its foreign policy efforts. Great significance is ascribed to utilizing the possibilities of political dialogue with all forces interested in safeguarding peace. This is consistent with Thaelman's tactics of rallying all forces opposing militarism and war.

The SED's strategic line in the struggle for attaining the ideal of socialism and its international policy are based on the rich experience of the founders and leaders of the CPG and German labor movement Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelman, Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, Otto Grotewohl and many other ardent German revolutionaries and fighters against militarism, imperialism and fascism and for social progress.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the GDR is systematically and persistently working to preserve peace on earth and in space. It highly rated the results of the Geneva Soviet-American summit and welcomed the Soviet proposals of 15 January 1986 on the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, and the profound analysis, assessments and conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress on problems of international policy.

In implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence, the GDR submits numerous initiatives aimed at broadening mutually profitable political, economic and cultural relations with capitalists and developing countries. The Soviet people value such steps, the purpose of which is to broaden and strengthen the political, material and spiritual prerequisites for peaceful coexistence and the preservation and strengthening of peace in Europe and throughout the world. They also suitably appreciate the tireless efforts of the GDR party and state leadership, aimed at building relations between the two German states on the basis of the strict observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence, so that never again would German soil become a hotbed of war. In this connection, attention is invariably drawn to the fact that the FRG is supporting the destructive U.S. policy on problems of nuclear disarmament. This complicates its relations with the socialist countries and harms the interest of security and cooperation in Europe.

The SED directs its main foreign policy efforts at strengthening friendship and unity and intensifying cooperation with the socialist countries. The GDR plays an important role in enhancing the economic potential of our community, the international division of labor and economic cooperation among CEMA countries and socialist economic integration.

Invariably, fraternal relations with the CPSU and the USSR play a central role in SED and GDR foreign policy. The complete unity which exists between the two parties and states on all basic problems of our time is a major factor in strengthening the socialist community and the international communist movement and in the unification of all anti-imperialist and antiwar forces on earth.

To the GDR's communists friendship, cooperation and unity with Lenin's country are an eternally living revolutionary tradition. All historical experience confirms the accuracy of Thaelman's words: "The stance toward proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union is decisive in the international workers movement." This is the testing stone for every true communist.

In his articles, speeches and letters, Thaelman repeatedly insisted that learning Leninism from the Soviet Union means learning how to win. Thoughts about the first socialist country in the world supported his spirit in the cells of the Gestapo. Thus, after depicting in one of his letters the decline and decrepitude of the capitalist world, he emphasized the following: "Now,



in 1935, one can speak of the 'miracle' of the 20th century providing that one can look at the development of that country objectively and without blind hatred." In 1937, answering the Gestapo prediction that the Soviet system would collapse imminently, Thaelman answered: "The USSR has existed for 20 years now. The Third Reich will not last that long." When fascist Germany attacked the USSR and, aware of Thaelman's love for the Soviet Union, the prison guards mocked him: "Well, what do you say now." He said: "Stalin will twist Hitler's neck." In 1943, asked what he thought of the war against Russia and the German situation, Thaelman said: "Waging war on the Soviet Union was Hitler's greatest error. Germany will never defeat Soviet Russia because Soviet Russia, after more than 20 years of victorious October Revolution, has become stronger than any other country. The German people must live exclusively in a state of friendship with the Soviet people."

Thaelman's inexhaustible optimism and unshakable faith in the power of the new social system and the first socialist state continue to inspire the German communists and working people and all fighters for peace and social progress. His behests are as topical today as they were then.

Headed by Ernst Thaelman, the CPG tirelessly absorbed Leninism. Lenin's theory imbues all SED activities. Together with the communists, hundreds of thousands of nonparty citizens in the GDR, particularly the young, are studying the works of Lenin and CPSU historical experience and learning how to apply them under the specific circumstances of their own country.

Loyal to the revolutionary traditions of the German working class and the behests of its founders and leaders, the SED considers friendship with the CPSU and the Soviet Union the foundation of its entire policy. It invariably supports the viewpoint that the successful creation of the most humane social system and safeguarding peace are possible only through a fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet people and the creative study and application of their historical experience. In addressing the 27th CPSU Congress, Erich Honecker repeated Ernst Thaelman's words: "The victorious march of socialism in the Soviet Union is our strongest argument."

The peoples of the USSR and the GDR are allies, fellow workers and friends. It is for the sake of these feelings that the CPSU and the SED have done a tremendous amount of work. This is the great accomplishment of our parties and peoples. The 12 March 1986 declaration of the SED Central Committee Politburo on the results of the 27th CPSU Congress and the activities of the SED delegation at the congress, emphasizes the deep conviction of GDR communists and all people that the close combat alliance and inviolable friendship with Lenin's party and country, tested in the course of decades, are and will always be the firm foundation for the successful progress of the GDR in building a developed socialist society. The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the forthcoming 11th SED Congress will open new horizons for the development and strengthening of this fraternal alliance.

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## ARDENT FIGHTERS FOR COMMUNISM

### GLORIOUS PAGES FROM THE LIFE OF A BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST

MOSCOW KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 111-121

[Article E. Verigo, written on the occasion of the centennial of S.M. Kirov's birth]

[Text] The year 1919 was perhaps the most difficult and most dangerous for the revolution. In the south our successes turned into Denikin's advance. Kolchak was quickly advancing toward Kazan and Samara. It was as though Kolchak and Denikin were trying to "hug" each other across the Volga, to strangle between them the young Soviet state. Astrakhan stood in the way to this "hug." It hindered them by pinning down tens of thousands of armed White Guards and preventing the British and White flotillas from entering the Volga. It prevented the interventionists from dealing with the partisan movement in the Northern Caucasus. It hindered the unexplainable strong ties with the Baku clandestine movement. The name Baku was synonymous with supplying petroleum to the republic.

By all definitions of military science Astrakhan was doomed. Its resistance was considered useless not only by the White and Entente generals but also by some Red Army commanders.

Yet the city held on and could not be surrendered precisely because it blocked the enemy was an ideal stronghold out of and around which revolutionary units could mount tactical and long-range operations.

"Is it not true that there is already talk of evacuating Astrakhan?" V.I. Lenin wrote in August 1918. "If this is true, merciless steps must be taken against the cowards, and the most reliable and firm people must be immediately assigned to organize its defense ..." "...As long as a single communist remains in the Astrakhan region, the estuary of the Volga will remain Soviet," Kirov was to say a year later, as someone who answered entirely Lenin's concept of a party organizer's reliability and firmness.

Kirov....his other party pseudonyms were Sergey and Serzh. Sergey Mironovich's real last name was Kostrikov. He was born in Urzhum, in the Vyatsk area. It was there that he was orphaned and, together with two sisters, was taken in by his grandmother. It soon became clear, however, that

on 3 rubles monthly the grandmother could not raise the children. Serezha spent 7 years in an orphanage.

Natural intelligence and persistence showed up, and Kostrikov entered the machine technical school in Kazan. He spent his holidays in Urzhum, where he frequently got together with political exiles.

Such "vacation" lessons, added to the lively student and study-circle atmosphere of Kazan University, where more important to the young man than classes in mechanics, although in August 1904 the 18-year-old Sergey went to Tomsk with the intention of enrolling in the Technological Institute. A few months later, however, on 2 February 1905, he was arrested. The police caught Sergey at a clandestine meeting. By then he had already become a bolshevik. Released from jail the same year, Kostrikov became the manager of a clandestine bolshevik printing press and member of the Tomsk RSDWP Committee.

He was arrested again at the beginning of 1906 and, after his release, returned to the clandestine press. A third detention followed. This time the investigation dragged on, as a result of which he spent 16 months in the fortress. It was there, alone, that Kostrikov continued his studies in the "prison universities," and persistently pursued his political self-education.

Following his release, he engaged in clandestine party work in Irkutsk and, as of May 1909, in Vladikavkaz. Officially, he was a correspondent of the newspaper TEREK and even managed to become one of its most respected collaborators. His journalistic fame increased but his reputation among the people of Gori as a bolshevik-Leninist became even greater.

For the fourth and last time he was detained in the Northern Caucasus and sent to Tomsk, where the court was forced to acquit him. The clandestine revolutionary returned to the Caucasus and was still there when the February Revolution came.

It was there as well that Kostrikov changed his name to Kirov, the name he used in signing his articles for TEREK. Having decided to adopt a pseudonym, Kostrikov and his organization comrades began to leaf through a calendar.

One suggestion followed another: "Poliyevkt!" "Yevtikhiy!" "Sofroniy!" Someone even suggested the name "Yefrosina" for greater conspiratorial purposes. They came across the name Kir. "Kir? Ki-rov! Quite good: a famous military leader in antiquity and now in clandestinity. All right!..."

Naturally, no one thought then that years later the thus "baptized" clandestine worker would display substantial talent as a military leader....

Kirov "made" the October Revolution in Petrograd. Soon afterwards, the party once again sent him to the Northern Caucasus. Kirov most actively participated in the establishment of the Soviet system on the banks of the Terek.

One task followed another. The Red Army had to be reorganized and semi-partisan and partisan detachments had to be converted into regular combat

capable units. This army had to be shod, clothed, fed, and supplied with ammunition and, naturally, political literature. The clandestine workers and Gori partisans behind the lines had to be supplied as well.

In June 1918 Kirov organized his first North Caucasian expedition. He went to Moscow from where he set out with a caravan of weapons and military ordnance. Along the way he had to shoot it out with White gangs and, something equally dangerous, fight the sabotage of railroad officials. Frequently the brakes under the old cars would overheat. The cars carried gun powder and shells which could blowup the entire train. The freight was transported to Pyatigorsk across the Astrakhan steppes on camels.

But even that was not all! By the end of 1918 typhus hit the barefoot and hungry units of the Caspian-Caucasian front. Cartridges were in very short supply. The army was paying the local population 5 rubles per cartridge.

Denikin's army was being supplied, equipped and armed by its foreign "well-wishers," Great Britain and Germany, with Krasnov acting as a middleman. The latter boasted with no trace of civic shame: "...I am a Don ataman. I take in my dirty hands German shells and cartridges, wash them in the Quiet Don and, thus cleansed, deliver them to the Voluntary Army."

The problem of Red Army supplies became primary in the struggle for a Soviet Caucasus. By the end of 1918 Kirov organized a new expedition.

In Moscow, after the 6th All-Russian Extraordinary Congress of Soviets had concluded its work, which he had attended as a delegate, Kirov displayed a fantastic amount of energy, surmounting, as he said, "the resistance of war department bureaucrats," to procure the items which the 11th Army needed the most.

Money was one of the most important things among them, for each 5 rubles meant a cartridge. Everywhere he was refused money along with many other things, at which point Kirov went to see V.I. Lenin and Ya.M. Sverdlov.

One night, Kirov loaded three cases on a cart and drove to the railroad station. Packed in the cases were 5 million rubles, tsarist, for that was the currency accepted in the front and near-front areas. Five million rubles meant one million shots at the enemies of the revolution.

Only six, the most reliable, of the 40 members of the expedition knew about the money. They included G.A. Atarbekov, former chairman of the North Caucasian Central Committee, Yu.P. Butyagin, the future commander of the 11th Army, and O.M. Leshchinskiy, a Red Army political worker, who had studied under Lenin back in Longjumeau.

The trip back was a virtual repeat of the first expedition: shoot-outs, blown-up tracks by gangs, burning brakes....Kirov had to stand guard at the braking platform, shoot and drive spikes along the tracks.

He was in a hurry. This time persistent rumors of the headlong retreat of the 11th Army were reaching the expedition. Ever new details were being added to them with every passing day, leaving no doubt as to their accuracy.

Unfortunately, the shortest way, via Rostov, had been cut off. The expedition had to cross to the left bank and, via Saratov, make its way to the Volga estuary. The expedition crossed the steppe on trucks.

Kirov rode in the body of a truck, sitting on the cases containing the tsarist millions. As a safety precaution the cases formed a tripod on which a machine gun had been mounted.

Detachments and isolated groups of 11th Army fighters, which had begun their retreat by order of Army Commander M.K. Levandovskiy, dated 18 January, were appearing with increasing frequency in the steppe. Breakdowns in the rear lines, the distance from supply centers and epidemics of typhus and Spanish influenza had cost the army 60,000 casualties in the course of a few months! However, the retreat could not be described as a rout, for Denikin had suffered 30,000 casualties in fighting the 11th Army.

Yet the army's forces were melting down. Those who survived their wounds were "finished off" by typhus and Spanish influenza, "assisted" by the Astrakhan steppes with their snow storms which could tear the ice blanket off the ground. It was right there, in the steppes, that the expedition headed by Kirov began to set up field hospitals, kitchens and baths. Before he was able to reach Kizlyar which, according to received information, had been occupied by the Whites, Kirov decided to return to Astrakhan and from there to organize the struggle for saving the army.

The column reached the city suburbs at the beginning of February.

The Volga which, in these areas, rarely formed a thick layer of ice, had to be crossed. The truck with the money was no heavier than the others which had opened the way through the ice. However, it was precisely under this truck that the ice cracked and gave....Kirov barely managed to jump out of the truck which sank under the ice with the money, and one million unfired shots found themselves at the bottom of the Volga.

Eventually the question would come up: "Was this 5 million rubles precisely on the truck which sank?" The answer had to be documented. The question was bound to be asked, for the enemy was active both outside and within Astrakhan. This was a strong and concealed enemy, holding many senior positions in the administrations of the army and the area.

Kirov rushed to the city: a team of divers had to be found to look for the money! A telegram from Moscow, signed by Sverdlov, was awaiting him: "Because of changed circumstances, suggest you remain in Astrakhan and organize the defense of the city and the area."

Meanwhile, at that time the latest mutiny was being prepared in Astrakhan. The conspirators had learned from the failure of the last mutiny, in which 500



White Guards had been arrested by the Muslim revolutionary regiment. The main lesson was that, unless supported by the workers, the mutiny was doomed.

How to draw over the workers on their side? Logically, above all the current difficulties had to be used, difficulties which city and army authorities were unable to resolve: hunger, typhus, cold. A widespread subversive propaganda campaign had to be organized, shying at nothing and disseminating even the stupidest rumors. The Astrakhan merchants were bound to believe them. The enemy hoped to mislead the Astrakhan workers themselves, who were not a native united proletariat with firm revolutionary traditions, but consisted essentially of seasonal workers, most frequently quite disunited.

People with great experience led the mutiny. A joint conspiratorial headquarters had been set up, headed by Tomilin, a former naval officer with close ties to the British Mission in Baku. The British representative in Astrakhan, Vice Consul A.R. Howe, was personally in charge of preparations for the counterrevolutionary act. The conspirators had succeeded in placing a number of their people in many establishments and organizations and army subunits. Participating in the conspiracy were Princess Tumanova, secretary of the Revolutionary Military Council, former White officer Nikultsev, chief of the mobilization section of the military commissariat, and the commanders of the Engineers Company and the 45th and 108th regiments. One of the conspirators, a certain Vedeneyev, a former White officer had even penetrated the special department. The party organization in the city and the area was polluted with such people. The enemy was everywhere. He eventually became impudent, allowing himself to engage in open counterrevolutionary activities.

The conspiracy headquarters drafted a plan for seizing weapon dumps, the fortress and the front headquarters. The conspirators relied on military assistance from the outside and on kulak support, on unstable middle-class elements in the armed forces and on the typhus, the main danger of the spreading of the latter being the masses of 11th Army troops which kept coming to Astrakhan. Billeting, keeping warm, feeding and healing the army could be accomplished only at the expense of the city, for which reason the clash between the city population and the army was quite real.

The conspirators also relied on the severe breakdown in the administrative and army leaderships. The conflict among military, party and economic authorities in Astrakhan was already yielding its "rich shoots," to the point that Moscow had to deal with it. A meeting on this conflict, held in January 1919, took place with the personal participation of Lenin and Sverdlov.

The main conflict was in the area of relations between A. Shlyapnikov, front revolutionary council chairman, and Ye. Bosh, chief of the front's political department and gubkom member. The terse text of documents which have reached us confirm the tenseness of the situation.

"We have been informed of the interference of the Communist Party in the work of the military council. We deem such interference totally inadmissible. The party authority cannot issue any direct orders. The local establishments and military councils are under different jurisdictions and have their own

specific areas of work," reads Sverdlov's note to the Astrakhan Party Gubkom, dated 6 January.

"The conflict in Astrakhan makes it necessary to repeat categorically: 1. Political departments are subordinated to revolutionary councils; 2. Any interference on the part of local party organizations in the work of the revolutionary council, its political department in particular, is totally inadmissible....," Sverdlov's cable to the Astrakhan Guberniya Executive Committee and Party Gubkom read.

It also read:

"The conflict with the party committee is inadmissible. Take all necessary measures for united and joint work. All party members, regardless of position, must be members of a local organization. The party committee must not interfere in the activities of establishments under direct central jurisdiction.... All local work is directed by the party center.... Direct intervention is possible only in the case of violations of decrees or working against the decrees issued by central authorities. Great tactfulness is necessary, thus making conflicts impossible.... Lenin, Sverdlov."

A Central Committee commission was sent to Astrakhan. Among others, it concluded that "the city soviet exists on paper only. It includes right-wing S.R. and mensheviks, who have paralyzed its entire work."

Such was the situation Kirov found on arrival in Astrakhan.

He had to grasp the entire situation and identify and rally those who were loyal to the Soviet system and the party. Time was short. Furthermore, there was the problem of the unfortunate money which had to be found. The search dragged on and its outcome was beginning to concern Kirov's expedition fellow-comrades.

On the surface at least, Kirov remained calm. He walked around the hole in the ice, where the divers had put up a tent and, from time to time, even hummed. Since several days of diving yielded no results, the assumption was that the truck had landed on solid ground and, carried away by the current, had gone God knows where. Holes were made in the ice along the current. It was said that Kirov himself had tried to dive under the ice. This could be true, for Sergey Mironovich was a willful person. The truck was eventually found and so was Kirov's valise. The cases with the money, however, were not. It was a despairing situation. However, not for a minute did Kirov lose confidence in the eventual success. The money was found only on the eleventh day: together with the machine gun, the cases had been dragged along by the current for a distance of 35 sazhen. The field control commission, which Kirov had invited, counted the money which was dried with an iron in the premises where the members of the Caucasian expedition had set up a commune.

While the search was going on, Kirov studied the situation in Astrakhan, organized the reception of wounded and sick Red Army men and worked on solving the conflict which had dragged on and was well-known to the party members in the city, and the outcome of which was of such concern to Lenin and Sverdlov.

"Sergey Mironovich has been in Astrakhan for several days but has not yet shown up at the gubkom," N.N. Kolesnikova, party gubkom chairman and one of the Baku Commune commissars (in charge of education), wrote in her memoirs. "...One morning, a person of average height, wearing a black leather suit and cap showed up in the office."

"Let us get acquainted--Kirov. I know what has been happening, so there is no point in discussing it."

Kirov was familiar with all the details and the tense relations between Kolesnikova and Shlyapnikov, as well as with the preparations for the mutiny. It turned out that he was aware of all main events in the city, area and army.

This feature, the ability comprehensively to study the situation, the essence of events, before taking practical action, was Kirov's lifelong work style as a manager.

It was only after the Astrakhan events, in 1921, on the first day of his arrival in Baku, where he was to head the Azerbaijan party organization, that, summoning no one, avoiding ceremonious receptions, Kirov showed up at Azneft and requested all documents pertaining to the petroleum industry. Then, before assuming office as secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, within a week he toured all petroleum extraction facilities and studied most thoroughly the situation at the main sector of his assigned job. This sector was main not only because petroleum was as necessary to the country as the air but also because it was precisely the petroleum workers who were the vanguard of the Azeri working class.

Later, this time in Leningrad, setting to the party members the task of supplying with metal the machine building enterprises in the city, Kirov was to amaze the specialists with his extensive knowledge of the latest trends in metallurgy. Amazed by the depth and extent of Kirov's technical knowledge, Leningrad professor A. Tanskiy asked Sergey Mironovich why he needed to know all this. The answer was that it is as necessary for a bolshevik manager to be as familiar with the resistance of materials as with that of the class enemy.

In encouraging new developments everywhere, Kirov would begin by weighing all available forces and unused resources. Invariably, such knowledge would be followed by decisive and energetic action dictated by the real situation.

In Astrakhan, addressing the party gubkom buro on 13 February, where the familiar conflict was being discussed, Kirov said: "The enemy has surrounded the city and guberniya with a ring of fire. Immediate urgent measures must be taken to eliminate this situation. The buckets of filth which have been poured here can obviously not help us defeat either Kolchak or Denikin. I think that this is not a time for petty quarrels or unraveling squabbles and petty issues. We must resolve the urgent problems of the defense of the city. We must take all the necessary measures to lead in the fight against the enemy anyone who cares for the gains of the proletarian revolution. Otherwise we become political philistines."

Shlyapnikov was recalled to Moscow. This person, who had done a great deal for the party, was unfortunately unable to provide proper army leadership. Together with the revolutionary council he had set up quarters away from the combat operations, for which reason he was frequently unfamiliar with the real situation in the army. Staff workers, even members of the political department, did not visit the unheated barracks, where occasionally the soldiers had to live in the dark, for months on end.

It was precisely there that Kirov immediately took himself. In the barracks he saw embittered Red Army men who would not get up from their cots in the presence of their commanding officer. A great deal of tactfulness and restraint were necessary to make the troops realize that discipline and order were needed in order to develop respect for the commanding officer, without which a regular army unit cannot fight successfully.

The army's combat capability diminished with every passing day.

Priority was given to the need to save, to revive the army and to reinforce it with new units and detachments. K.A. Mekhonoshin, who had replaced Shlyapnikov, noted that "the exceptionally difficult situation which had developed at the Caspian-Caucasian front was exclusively the result of the lack of supplies, political workers, Red Army commanders and military specialists."

All the comrades who had come with Mekhonoshin were immediately sent to the front. Two groups of obstacle building detachments were assigned to the two most important strategic areas.

At the same time, it was necessary to fight the typhus and for the life of the wounded soldiers. This was closely related to the problem of bread. The army and the newly raised detachments had to be supplied with armaments and combat ordnance.

An end had to be put to the counterrevolution within the shortest possible time, above all to those who were preparing an armed uprising against the Soviet system in Astrakhan and its guberniya.

Finally, the party ranks had to be purged from enemies and unsuitable elements who had insinuated themselves into the party.

"Considering the exceptionally serious situation on the Caspian-Caucasian front, which is of prime importance to the entire Soviet Republic in all respects, the proletariat and all Soviet bodies in the Astrakhan area are assigned exceptional tasks which exceed the limits of their usual activities.... In order for said tasks to be carried out, the guberniya and city executive committees, the party gubkom and the Revolutionary Council of the Caspian-Caucasian front have decreed that a provisional military-revolutionary committee will be set up.... This provisional military-revolutionary committee will be the supreme authority in Astrakhan Guberniya...."

S.M. Kirov became chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee.

The first order issued by the Revkom was to reduce bread rations "because of the extremely limited stock of flour in Astrakhan and the need to increase the amount of bread supplied to the armed forces." Class-based rations were introduced, ranging from one-quarter pound to one pound of bread daily.

The second order listed measures to fight the typhus, including the organization and furnishing of barracks, making beds and cots for the sick, appointing medics, organizing women to staff reception centers and field hospitals, clean premises and feed the sick, etc.

The day after the Revkom order, Georgiy Atarbekov was appointed chairman of the Astrakhan Cheka.

The Revkom undertook to condense housing, thus providing the Red Army and the workers with necessary premises; it organized the work of the transportation system and the suppression of kulak mutinies. A control commission was set up to fight sabotage and abuses in Soviet establishments.

No single important problem escaped Kirov who seemed omniscient and tireless.

He was able to find a common language even with the worst rowdies, always taking the situation into consideration in dealing with them. He attacked the anarchic-feeling seamen with sharp and just accusations: "...By virtue of what regulations is a member of the Revolutionary Military Council welcomed as you have. Since when do the armed seamen of the revolution settle disputes by fighting on deck. Who are you, high school girls in striped shirts? Where is your discipline? You have no discipline, you have lost it... The revolution will not allow those who have lost their way to be its water-carriers..."

While solving the most important problems of weapon supplies to the armed forces, Kirov kept finding unusual technical solutions which influenced the people no less than did his temperament and logic as an agitator.

Neither the city nor the army could protect themselves from the raids of British aviation. These raids had literally become the scourge of the Red Army men and the population. Kirov put together a small air force "squadron" of antedeluvian airplanes, fueled by some kind of fantastic mixture of alcohol and petroleum by-products. They not simply flew but also stung the English aces. Contacts between Astrakhan and the center through the Volga were cut off after Tsaritsyn fell to the Denikin forces in June. The railroad had to be protected from the White Guards. On Kirov's initiative and with his direct participation, armor was added to ordinary flat-cars. Flat-bottom boats and other fishing vessels were converted into military launches on Kirov's initiative.

Love of technology and faith in the power of the alliance between science and labor remained with Kirov for the rest of his life.

A typical event occurred while Kirov was already the leader of the Leningrad Communists. Ten-ton MIGE electric furnaces had been ordered from abroad for



the Dneprovskiy Industrial Combine. After the company let the customers down, as is sometimes the case to this day (let us recall the recent case of gas pipes which were to be supplied to us by foreign companies!), Kirov undertook to solve the problem. He distributed the order for furnaces among 10 Leningrad plants and the Dneprovskiy Industrial Combine was given Soviet-made MIGE-type electric furnaces as good as those made abroad.

However, people have always stood at the sources of the solutions of even the most difficult problems, including technical ones. It was precisely the shortage of people that Kirov had to deal with in Astrakhan in 1919. This scarcity was felt everywhere.

The field hospitals needed women to take care of the wounded. Kirov met with the women of Astrakhan. He showed them the photograph of a little girl. It was with this photograph in his hand that private Gritsenko had died in one of the city's hospitals. "There was a powerful request in his dulling eyes looking at us, passionately clutching his right hand to his chest.... When Comrade Gritsenko died, a small photograph, yellowed with age, fell from his right hand. It was a photograph of the little blonde girl of the dead soldier. The last words of the dying man were addressed to her. Dear comrades, wives, mothers, sisters! You too have husbands, children, fathers and brothers and all of them, fighting for our happiness, are thinking of you, awaiting their happy meeting with you. Perhaps some of them may be lying somewhere, sick, awaiting your help..." Neglecting their own homes, the women went to work at the field hospitals.

Despite his compassion for people, Sergey Mironovich hated with all his heart spiritual callousness and satiety. He was merciless in the struggle against saboteurs, dirty workers, money-grubbers and black marketers. "Budanov, member of the guberniya executive committee, and his accomplices, accused of extortion, drunkenness and appropriation of requisitioned objects, will be handed over to the revolutionary tribunal. The revolutionary tribunal is asked to try the case promptly." This was Revkom Order No 15, signed by Kirov.

To Kirov the words "collective," "mass" and "population" were never abstract concepts, either during the extreme conditions of the defense of Astrakhan or later, during the period of peaceful construction. All of Kirov's decisions were related to what is currently known in political terminology as the energizing of the "human factor," backed by specific knowledge and action.

In discussing the need for knowledgeable light industry specialists, Kirov noted that "people must be made." This was immediately followed by the opening of a textile institute.

When the problem of supplying the conquerors of Khibin with fresh vegetables arose, Kirov was able to find a local enthusiast who learned how to grow excellent cucumbers under harsh northern conditions. "He was acquainted," Leningraders remember, "with hundreds of ordinary plant workers. When the nominations of Putilov plant workers for awards for their victories in tractor-building were discussed, Kirov selected from memory and provided character references for dozens of people, not only shop managers but also rank-and-file workers."

In Astrakhan, having concluded that in all likelihood the prevention of the counterrevolutionary outbreak was impossible, Kirov began to prepare the necessary forces for its defeat. First of all, Sergey Mironovich set up an operative three-member group and a defense council. He quickly organized a special group consisting of commanders and commissars of reliable units, and 2 days after holding a conference with them and determining the reliability of garrison regiments and companies, ordered the disarming of elements of the 45th and 108th infantry regiments, considered unreliable, most of whom consisted of local scions of kulaks, cattlemen and merchants.

In accordance with Kirov's plan, machine guns were set up in the city along the Kutum and Kanava rivers, manned by the Zheleznyy and Muslim regiments, while the artillery was concentrated in the Elling and Forpost. The flotilla ships were made combat-ready. Kirov personally supervised the deployment of the people along the firing positions.

The mutiny broke out on 10 March, simultaneously at the port and the area of the Bakaldinskiye streets, where the headquarters of the conspirators was located, not far from the Vladimir Church. The number of rebels swelled quickly.

With the very first news of the mutiny, Kirov summoned the revolutionary committee. N.N. Kolesnikova recalls: "We have sufficient forces to defeat them, but we shall have to fight in narrow city streets," Kirov said. "Innocent people may suffer, something which we must avoid above all. Our main task, therefore, is to crush the center of the mutiny." Such was Kirov's nature: even in the fiercest struggle he was aware of the means and thought of people who could become innocent victims of the struggle. Nevertheless, the order he issued at 1530 hours read as follows: "I order the merciless destruction of the White Guard swine, using all available means of defense at our disposal."

Following are a few excerpts of a journal on the course of the operation to suppress the March counterrevolutionary mutiny in Astrakhan.

10 March.... "1550 hours. Comrade Lipatov (Astrakhan Communist Party Committee membership card No 45) reports that he is leading the Muslim Company toward the Yepifanov house and the Ioan Zlatoust Church; the organization is poor and it is impossible to locate both our forces and those of the enemy. The church is occupied by the rebels and so are the premises of the rayon party committee; a machine gunner has been killed...

"1830 hours.... A Muslim mounted patrol is asking for support and replacements at Petropavlovskaya Street, where an exchange of fire is taking place....

"1855 hours.... A field note issued to all unit commanders. The order is for all units to mount an offensive at 1930 hours and suppress the uprising at all costs....

"2315 hours.... Everything at the Forpost is calm....

"2345 hours.... North of Kutum everything is calm....

"All units report victory...."

One of the events in the suppression of the mutiny adds a characteristic trait to Kirov's portrait. A White Guard machine gun had been mounted on the belfry. The infantry men were hoping that the torpedo-boat would be able to destroy it. In order to hit the belfry without damaging near-by houses, a good gunner was needed. No such gunner existed on board. A feverish search located an elderly artillery man in the city. However, the latter firmly refused to fire. He was taken to Kirov. After a short talk with Sergey Mironovich, the by now persuaded gunner agreed to violate his "neutrality" and went to the ship and fired. The belfry was brought down and the White Guard machine gun which controlled an important sector was silenced....

On 12 March, after the full suppression of the mutiny, the Revolutionary Committee issued an order which began as follows: "The White Guards and all enemies of the worker-peasant regime, who had dared to raise their base hand against the proletarian revolution, have been routed." "After the call for 'Death to Self-Seekers!'," the order went on to say, "another, no less revolutionary slogan must be heard: 'All to the machine tools! Everyone to work!' Remember that every minute of idleness is a crime against the revolution and all of Soviet Russia."

On Kirov's request, permission was granted by Moscow to hold the first reregistration of party members in the republic. Kirov headed this unusually important project.

"Many of the events we have recently experienced, clearly do not speak well of us. They prove that enemies, more dangerous than open White Guards are in our ranks," the Astrakhan Revolutionary Committee chairman noted in one of his speeches. "Our party," we read in the appeal of the gubkom commission headed by Kirov "To All Members of the Astrakhan Bolshevik Organization," "must once again become whole, cast of a single piece. It must be cleansed from extraneous elements which bring corruption within its ranks. There must be no place for idlers, hooligans, adventurers, drunks and thieves in the party ranks. There is no place in our party for those who hesitate and oscillate, who avoid discipline and unity of action. We must sweep the party of harmful and unnecessary elements with an iron broom. Let the party lose in quantity but win in quality. The party will benefit by becoming stronger"....

This statement made by Kirov is startlingly topical today, when the party is paying such great attention to the struggle for the purity of its ranks and for maintaining the honest and pure image of every party member.

"After the victory the party ranks increased steadily," the resolution passed at the Second Astrakhan Guberniya Party Conference stated. "This inevitably led to the fact that elements which have nothing in common with communism entered its ranks with a view to using the prestige of the RKP(b) for personal selfish purposes. Hiding behind the flag of communism, such adventuristic elements are discrediting through their actions the prestige and great cause of our political party in the eyes of the population...."

This was followed by a firm and energetic call to practical action: "We must....strengthen our ties with the primary party organizations as the main prerequisite for all victories on all fronts...."

Several months later, on 25 November, Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, cabled the Fourth Congress of Soviets of Astrakhan Guberniya: "Three months in the life of the Astrakhan proletariat proved decisive to the destinies of the working people of the entire guberniya. I am referring to the creation and activities of the Astrakhan Provisional Military-Revolutionary Committee. It preserved the Soviet system in Astrakhan during the nightmarish days of March, mercilessly defeating the hirelings of English imperialism. Under its battle flags a firm foundation now exists under the victories we have already won."

A few days later, on 1 December a telegram-report was sent to Lenin on the completion of the heroic defense of Astrakhan and the forthcoming offensive toward the Northern Caucasus.

Sergey Mironovich had only 15 years of life left, all of which rushed by in a single thrust.

After the liberation of the Northern Caucasus, one day in May 1920 he brought freedom to Baku, followed by the legendary crossing of the most difficult Mamisonskiy Pass, to help the uprising of the Georgian people. At that time Kirov was appointed member of the Caucasian Bureau of the RKP(b) Central Committee.

He set up the Gori ASSR in April 1921; in July he assumed the leadership of the Azerbaijan Party Organization, where he won one more victory, no less important than those he had won on the battlefield. The petroleum industry of the Transcaucasus was rebuilt within an extremely short time.

In 1926 S.M. Kirov became first secretary of the Leningrad VKP(b) Gubkom and the Northwestern Bureau of the VKP(b) Central Committee. Also in 1926 Kirov was elected candidate and, in 1930, member of the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo. In 1934 he became secretary and member of the party's Central Committee Orgburo as well as secretary of the Leningrad Obkom and Gorkom.

Kirov was involved with the creation of the Northern Fleet, the development of the mineral resources of Khibin, the building of the White Sea-Baltic Canal and the steady growth of Leningrad industry. The first Soviet steam turbines and tractors, the filming of one of the first domestic sound motion pictures on the Soviet working class, "The Counter," which depicted the heroics of the first 5-Year Plan, and the reconstruction of the Leningrad theatre for opera and ballet took place with Kirov's direct and most active participation.

Kirov, the fearless bolshevik, inspired orator of the revolution, shiningly good and modest like Lenin, was the favorite of the party and the country's working class. Joyful and ecstatic at the great accomplishments of the first 5-year plans, Sergey Mironovich described from the podium of the 17th Party Congress how he wanted to "live and go on living." Living meant to him to be a revolutionary and a communist always and everywhere, at all points in space and every single minute granted to him by fate. The life of such a person

becomes a component of the history of the people, the country and mankind. S.M. Kirov, the crystallly pure and inflexibly firm party member, bolshevik-Leninist, military commander and diplomat, dedicated his entire outstanding and glorious life to the cause of the working people and communism, inscribing outstanding pages in the chronicles of the great accomplishments of the Soviet people. One of his last speeches is aimed directly at the present: "Our obligation, our task assigned to us by history is to work, work and work. However much we build is not enough; we must hurry on, for our tasks greatly exceed the borders of our country."

"We must hurry on!" It is precisely this that the historical resolutions of the 27th Leninist Congress of the party, whose loyal son S.M. Kirov was, call upon us to accomplish.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ASSERTING THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST SCIENTIFIC POLITICAL ECONOMY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 122-125

[Review by L. Reznikov, candidate of economic sciences, of the book "Izbrannyye Ekonomicheskkiye Sochineniya (1923-1941 Gg.)" [Selected Economic Works (1923-1941)] by A.A. Voznesenskiy. Nauka, Moscow, 1985, 304 pp]

[Text] The study of the real process of the establishment and development of socialist political economy is an organic component of its advancement at the present stage, which is quite crucial for our entire social sciences. Intensified historical "self-knowledge" of political economy is one of the major prerequisites for its solution of the practical problems of shaping an integral socialist economic management mechanism, consistent with the new conditions, as described by the 27th CPSU Congress. Entirely understandable from this viewpoint is the considerable interest shown by the readers in the Izdatelstvo Nauka's publication of the selected works of a noted Soviet political economist, one of the organizers of economic training in our country, passionate propagandist of Marxist-Leninist theory and fighter for its purity, Professor Aleksandr Alekseyevich Voznesenskiy. The book is based on major theoretical works included in textbooks on political economy (for communist education and other VUZs), and published in PRAVDA and the journal POD ZNAMENEM MARKSIZMA.

The beginning of most of A.A. Voznesenskiy's scientific activities took place during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. This was a time of epochal social changes in the economy, directly reflected on the development of the political economy of the new production method. It took place in the course of fierce ideological and theoretical confrontation with the mechanistic and idealistic falsifications of Marxism-Leninism, bourgeois and revisionist views and Trotskyite and right wing-opportunistic efforts to distort the party's general line.

All the works by this author included in the book are imbued with a spirit of class and party principle-mindedness. He consistently related this nature of "our political economy" to its revolutionary-transforming role and open service to the cause "of the proletariat and, consequently, its vanguard--the Communist Party" (pp 69-70). He brought to light the link between the class nature of science and its objectivity and proper reflection of reality on a

profoundly dialectical basis. The Marxist-Leninist requirement of concrete truth presumes the clarification of "which specific class is the creator of a given science," a class which, by virtue of its very position is historically advancing and interested in the proper understanding of reality, or else is historically obsolete, regressive and forced to distort the actual laws of motion for the sake of preserving its social status quo. As a progressive social class, the objectives of which are consistent with "the objective laws of development of reality itself," the proletariat, who is fighting "for the overthrow of capitalism and building socialism," is vitally interested "in the most precise and most accurate knowledge of economic laws" (p 69).

Most of Voznesenskiy's works deal with methodological problems which remain quite relevant today. In this connection, let us single out the work titled "The Subject of Political Economy," with which the collection opens. In the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s, in defending in the course of sharpest scientific discussions the classical Marxist view on political economy as the science "of social relations among people in production" (p 50) the author firmly opposed the "dissolution" of production relations within production forces, which was characteristic of the supporters of the mechanistic trend (see pp 37-44) as well as the artificial separation of said relations from production forces, "thus giving production relations a meaningless form and turning them into a purely idealistic category" (p 50).

The Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the subject of political economy, he pointed out, calls for considering production relations a "form of dynamics of production forces and a specific social form of their development" (p 51). Such an approach makes it possible to bring to light not only the "determining influence of production forces on production relations" but also the "active influence of production relations on production forces," allowing us scientifically to determine "the way given production relations influence the trend of development of production forces, their development pace and their internal structure...." (p 52). Since production relations are considered an active, an effective form of development of production forces, "the study of the inherent (internal) laws of dynamics of production relations also means the study of internal contradictions of production forces and production relations and their interpenetration...." (ibid).

This uncompromisingly basic methodological principle of Marxist-Leninist political economy supported by Voznesenskiy is actively "functioning" to this day, when the necessary prerequisites for the acceleration of socioeconomic progress, as the new draft of the CPSU program adopted at the 27th Party Congress emphasizes, "are the permanent advancement of production relations and the support of their stable consistency with the dynamically developing production forces and the timely detection and resolution of known antagonistic contradictions which appear between them." We believe that it is only under the conditions of the conscious and systematic consideration of the objective dialectics of production forces and production relations "through the lens" of their specific subject--production relations and their inherent laws--that socialist political economy can efficiently solve its problems of concretizing the socioeconomic criteria of scientific and technical progress and its acceleration and the material and technical foundations for communism formulated in the new draft of the party program. In other words, it is only

through the manifestation of specific socioeconomic problems that the ways of development of production forces, which ensure the new qualitative status reached by our society and, in the final historical account, the higher phase of the communist system, can be scientifically defined.

The problem of the subject of political economy was discussed during the 1920s in close connection with the problem of the historical limits of that science. At that time scientific publications were dominated by the concept of the absence, in the circumstances of a planned production process, of objective economic laws, thereby limiting the subject of political economy exclusively within the historical framework of uncontrolled commodity and commodity-capitalist economy. Decisively important in surmounting this anti-Marxist view, which had come to Soviet economic science from social democratic publications, was the publication of remarks by V.I. Lenin, made in 1920, on the book by N.I. Bukharin "The Economics of the Transitional Period," which came out in 1929. Drawing attention to the fact that Lenin categorically rejected Bukharin's concept of the similarity between the "end of the capitalist-commodity society and the end of political economy," and thoroughly restoring the concept developed by Engels of political economy in the broad meaning of the term, Voznesenskiy drew the following basic conclusion: "The interest of building socialism and the struggle waged by the global proletariat demand at the present stage, in following Lenin's steps, for political economy in the broad meaning of the term to be organically developed essentially along the line of the theory of the Soviet and the socialist economy" (p 56).

It was after the publications of Lenin's remarks that the vulgar-empirical view continued to enjoy some popularity, according to which the creation of a socialist political economy was impossible until the full victory of the latter was won. Objectively, such claims questioned the decisive contribution which the Marxist classics had made to substantiating the most important economic laws of the future socialist society, ignoring the creative development of the Marxist theory of socialism by Lenin and the Leninist party.

A.A. Voznesenskiy was one of the first economist to oppose such a nonhistorical approach to the process of the establishment of a political economy of socialism. "The richest possible foundations for such a political economy of the transitional period and of socialism," he wrote, "were laid in the works of Marx and Engels and, particularly, in those of Lenin and in the resolutions of the Comintern and our Communist Party and Soviet system" (pp 55-56).

The principles of real historicism in the approach to the establishment and development of the political economy of the new production method, which is polemically asserted in the work under review, are hardly 50-year old "relics." In particular, they provide all the necessary reasons to consider today as a fact not only of the existence of a socialist political economy (which, naturally, did not exclude in the least the need for its further and most essential improvement) but also of the basic features of the economic theory of the communist system as a whole, contained within it. The latter scientifically reflects the existence of general communist principles within

the socialist economic system, the strengthening of which, as stipulated in the CPSU program, means the actual progress of our society toward communism.

Naturally linking surmounting the limited view on the subject of political economy with a recognition of the objective nature of socialist economic laws, Voznesenskiy emphasized that the concept according to which "any social form has its economic laws" also applies "to the socialist (communist) society. In this case economic laws are realized by the people and are consciously observed by them" (p 60).

The thought of the conscious implementation of economic laws "restored the rights" of basic Marxist stipulations on freedom as realized and mastered necessity, applicable to socialism but somehow forgotten at a certain stage in Soviet economic literature. At the same time, it emphasized the fact that under the conditions of the new system economic theory acquires "a tremendous and immediate practical significance which it could never previously have" (ibid).

A number of requirements, entirely applicable to the contemporary stage, stem from the concept of the "direct practical value" of economic theory under socialism. The purpose of socialist political economy is not only to identify economic laws as such but also to substantiate their mechanism of action and interaction and the specific means and methods of their conscious and systematic application in accordance with dynamically changing circumstances and economic development requirements. Only then does it become capable of performing its active constructive function, which is to serve to the fullest extent as the scientific and theoretical foundation of planned management of the processes of building socialism and communism and a real factor in the acceleration of our advance.

The profound study of the methodological problems of socialist political economy, and the substantiation of the applicability of Marx's "Das Kapital" theory and methods were organically supplemented by the author with a positive development of a number of most important laws of building socialism. Particularly noteworthy in this respect are his considerations on the basic law of dynamics of the Soviet economy. Sharp debates were held on this problem as well in publications of the 1920s and beginning of 1930s. The theoretical content of the views formulated in the course of such discussions was frequently directly related to the political struggle for a specific course to be followed in the economic strategy adopted by the party and the Soviet state. Unlike theories of the "uncontrolled development of the Soviet economy" (p 194), hostile to Leninism and essentially promoting a restoration, Voznesenskiy formulated a concept according to which "the basic law of motion" of the transitional economy is the "law of socialist socialization" (p 197). This conclusion was supplemented with the author's views on the "level of proletarian dictatorship" which, as a form of implementation of the law of socialist socialization, "in that sense" could itself "be known as the basic law of motion of the transitional economy" (ibid). The existence of elements of a theoretical combination of objective economic laws and specific forms of their practical manifestation in economic management, entirely logical for that time, does not eliminate in the least the basic accuracy of interpreting nationwide socialization as the main economic content of the process of

transition from capitalism to socialism. The characterization given by the author to socialist socialization as the "basic law of motion of the Soviet economy," stemming from the Leninist concept of actual production socialization, was aimed against the bourgeois and opportunistic theories of "balancing" the individual sectors within the Soviet economic system, which called for an indefinitely long "coexistence" of petty-commodity and capitalist systems with the socialist system. In this respect it played its positive role in the ideological struggle for the implementation of the party's general line of full victory of socialism in the USSR, and remains topical in the light of the current problems which face a number of socialist countries undergoing the transitional period.

Within the context of the tasks related to the socialist socialization of the Soviet economy, Voznesenskiy considered other more specific aspects of the theory and practice of the establishment of socialism. In our view, the solution to the problem of using commodity-monetary forms in socialist construction, which he provided at the turn of the 1930s, is of great interest.

The stipulations of the 17th VKP(b) Conference on the importance of eliminating liquidationist feelings concerning such methods contributed to the extensive acknowledgment of the obligation to preserve and extensively use value categories. However, many economists related their presence in the Soviet economy exclusively to the fact that vestiges of private ownership systems remained within it. Voznesenskiy was one of the few authors at that time who indicated the need to explain the preservation of commodity-monetary forms as development features of the socialist system itself. "....The need for a commodity form....," he wrote, "is determined not only by the existence of different systems within our economy but also the degree of socialist socialization within the socialist sector" (p 190).

The consideration of the problem of commodity-monetary relation in close connection with the level of socialization of socialist production reached not only contributes, in our view, identifying the reasons for their preservation under socialism but also brings to light the trends of their further evolution in accordance with the future communist development of our society. The dialectics of development of socialism is such that the more extensively commodity-monetary relations are applied in it (objectively determined by the actual level reached in labor and production socialization), the more such application "promotes" the enhanced level of maturity of socialist socialization to a level which, in the future, will provide the possibility of eliminating commodity-monetary relations among the subjects of socialist production and lead to an absolute universal application of direct social forms inherent in the communist production method. This concept sheds light on the problem emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress of developing means of utilization of commodity-monetary relations on a firm socialist basis.

Problems of the study of basic categories in Marx's theory of commodity output are extensively discussed in the work. The author's familiarity with the works "Commodity" and "On Understanding the Category of Abstract Labor," and his exceptionally clear presentation are organically combined with scientific depth and fine analysis. Unquestionably, this will be useful to specialists



in political economy and to those who are only now undertaking the study of Marx's "Das Kapital."

Let us particularly single out the author's interpretation of the category of abstract labor which, according to Marx, is the "constructive value of the substance." The question of abstract labor became the topic of a broad debate within Soviet economic publications in the 1927-1930 period. The mechanistic and idealistic trends in political economy, which were quite popular at that time, were manifested most clearly in the various views held on that problem. Voznesenskiy became one of the first authors to criticize both trends. His work "On the Question of Understanding the Category of Abstract Labor," which was written in 1925, proves that actually 2 years before the official beginning of the debate and 5 years before it was officially closed, the anti-Marxist nature of the mechanistic version of abstract labor was clearly exposed, a theory which reduced the latter to a loss of "labor in general" which was deprived of any type of social content (thus essentially perpetuating abstract labor and other value categories derived from it), as well as the idealistic interpretation of abstract labor which converted it into some kind of "ideal" social form alienated from the material production process itself. In the latter case, Voznesenskiy noted, "Marx's entire political economy is converted from a materialistic science into an idealistic elaboration and loses its entire practical revolutionary significance" (p 108).

The positive definition of abstract labor as an outlay of "physiologically homogeneous human work force," which rejected the extremes we noted, is, under the conditions of a commodity economy "the type of form in which the essentially social nature of individual labor is revealed" (p 100). In our view, this definition has honorably withstood more than 50 years of tests and the results of the study of Marx's theory of value carried out during that time are entirely consistent with the concepts included in this definition.

While fully sharing and supporting the view already published to the effect that the publication of Voznesenskiy's economic works is a "necessary and useful project," let us note the obvious usefulness of another printing of this work, which was sold out immediately, in a substantially bigger edition. This should include a number of Voznesenskiy's works not found in the book under review but indicated in the bibliographic listing of his works.

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#### SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) p 126

[Text] "Kosmonavtika: Entsiklopediya" [Cosmonautics: Encyclopedia]. V.P. Glushko editor in chief. V.P. Barmin, K.D. Bushuyev, V.S. Vereshchetin et al. editors. Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, Moscow, 1985, 528 pp. Reviewed by Academician V. Avduyevskiy.

This is a first publication of its kind, covering virtually all aspects of cosmonautics as a new branch of scientific research and economic activities. It would be no exaggeration to consider it an outstanding event in the cultural life of our country, which inaugurated the space age. The encyclopedia consists of 15 interrelated topic sections with more than 2,000 articles written by highly skilled specialists and offering the readers an exceptionally extensive and meaningful panoramic view of one of the most exciting fronts of the scientific and technical revolution. Its scientifically strict and accurate referential data may be used by anyone interested in cosmonautics, its history and contemporary condition, ranging from scientific workers and engineers to non-specialized journalists, party propagandists, VUZ and school teachers and university and secondary school students. It provides information on the physical and technological foundations of rocket technology, the structure and details of space apparatus and systems, programs for the study and conquest of space, the organizations participating in their implementation, achievements in space medicine and biology and description of the latest scientific areas to which today the adjective "space" may be added (space earth studies, space navigation, space communications, etc.).

A major feature of conceptual significance of the encyclopedia is the global approach taken to the description of many phenomena on earth, an approach which became truly possible thanks to the establishment and development of cosmonautics. It is most fully manifested in the article "The Earth" and materials related to this topic, the content of which is based on achievements in equipping artificial earth satellites, and articles dealing with many of the latest trends, such as "The Meteorological Space System," "Space Geodesy," "Space Monitoring," etc. As we know, global problems within which the contradictions and complexities of the contemporary stage in historical development are concentrated, are becoming today an arena of political and ideological struggle. In this connection, the encyclopedia convincingly

proves not only the role which the Soviet Union played as the pioneer of the space age but also the close ties between all of its steps in this area and a peace-oriented policy, the initiator of which our country has invariably been. Articles on international cooperation and international space law, drafted for the encyclopedia by the USSR Academy of Sciences Interkosmos Council, are of great interest.

The work was prepared by members of scientific organizations in the socialist countries and the United States, Sweden and India. To a certain extent, therefore, this is a positive example of international cooperation. Nevertheless, the credit for such a tremendous work involving the careful selection of terms, their classification, the scientific and literary formulation of concepts and their meaning, the choice of the best qualified authors and the coordination of their efforts, etc., goes to the industry and transportation editors of Izdatelstvo Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, and the aktiv of related specialists. The publication is richly illustrated (some 900 illustrations to the text, many of which published for the first time, and a large number of color and black-and-white inserts). The aesthetic aspect of a work is important and "Kosmonavtika" meets the most exacting criteria.

Bibliographic references are found at the end of the work as a combined list of publications. It seems to me that it would be better for such references to be put at the end of each article, which would facilitate the further study of necessary sources for further scientific and literary work. This does not detract from the quality of this valuable encyclopedia. We can say that the problem has been resolved successfully on a high quality level.

The further headlong development of space science, technology and practice will unquestionably require subsequent editions, enriched with new data. Before this becomes necessary, it would be expedient to publish encyclopedic yearbooks which would supply fresh knowledge to be added to the information of permanent value contained in this work.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 86 (signed to press 31 Mar 86) pp 127-128

[Text] 1. Lenin, V.I. "Izbrannyye Sochineniya" [Selected Works]. In 10 volumes. Vol 5, part 2. "Filosofskiye Tetrady" [Philosophy Notebooks]. Vol 6, 1910-1917. Politizdat, Moscow. Vol 5, part 2, 1986, 671 pp; vol 6, 1985, 695 pp.

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